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10 September 1981

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1917



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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10 September 1981

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ANTONOV AN-72 AIRPLANE DESCRIBED

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech No 9, May 81 pp 340-342

[Article by Jan Cech and Eng Tomas Hyan: "An Airplane This Is Being Talked About: the Antonov An-72"]

[Text] The "72" is the latest known design of one of the most renowned Soviet designers, Oleg Konstantinovich Antonov, who became 75 years old this year. Even as a student of 18 he built a glider, and he stayed with motorless aircraft for several years. By 1939 the Soviet Union had produced more than 5,000 gliders designed by Antonov, including sports, training, cargo and airborne assault models. They were also used to supply the troops during the Great Patriotic War: for example, during the second glider assault in Polotsko-Lepelskaya Oblast in 1943, A-7 gliders carried about 250 tons of materiel and 472 troops.

Later Antonov devoted himself to motor-powered aircraft, among the best known of which we may mention the Evergreen An-2, a multipurpose biplane which went through more than four versions and is still produced today; the An-24, An-26 and An-32 transports, the An-10, An-12 and mighty Antaeus An-22 freighters and the like. With the last-mentioned machine, Soviet fliers have set 22 world records for speed and ceiling with loads from 32 to 100 tons, while Aeroflot has used the twin-motor An-24 to carry more than 300 million passengers. This economical aircraft has been bought by carriers in 23 countries.

When in 1932 the Romanian physicist Henri Coanda applied for a French patent on his invention, in which the exhaust gases of a jet engine were blown across the wing section, no one paid attention. As late as 1949, the famous Czech designer Eng Pavel Benes called this patent "odd." The fact that in the 1970's both Oleg K. Antonov and the Boeing company resorted to it, in the An-72 and the YC-14 respectively, indicates what roundabout routes technical progress may take.

In 1979, Antonov's An-72 stopped at Ruzyn near Prague on its way to the Paris Air Show. We now give an account of this aircraft, which we had a chance to inspect.

The Antonov An-72 is the first turbojet aircraft from Antonov's design bureau and the first Soviet aircraft to use the Coanda effect. On first look, one's attention is arrested by the engines, which are unusually mounted on the upper sides of the wings. They are turbofan engines with a high bypass ratio, the first of their type to be developed in the Soviet Union. They are also used on the Yak-42 and

are designated the D-36 (designed by Lotarev). They have powerful thrust reversers which make up the entire rear part of the engine nacelle.

Now let us turn to the Coanda effect itself. The new generation of high bypass ratio engines, which produce large quantities of relatively cool, high-speed exhaust gases, brought back the idea of blowing these gases across the wing section and producing lift on it even when the aircraft has zero velocity. Antonov and the Boeing company both decided to use the Coanda effect in the same way: they placed the engines ahead of the leading edges of the wings on their short-takeoff-and-landing aircraft.

The An-72 is a high-wing aircraft. The wing has Fowler flaps divided into two sections (each with its own guides). The inner parts of the flaps, behind the engines, have two slots and can be controlled separately (probably only in the prototype). The outer flaps are three-slotted. The flap guides and controls are adopted from the Tu-154. The wing has a slot on the leading edge and is a multispar design, as in the IL-76. The aircraft has a fuselage of circular cross-section ending in a loading ramp. The design is patented not only in the Soviet Union but advanced capitalist countries as well: the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Italy and Sweden. The ramp doors are hydraulically controlled and are similar to those on the An-26. The cargo area has seats for 32 passengers which can be folded against the walls. The floor will be quipped with a roller track for easy loading and handling of cargoes on pallets or in containers measuring 1,900 x 2,438 x 1,460 mm. The cargo space of the prototype has a crane track with four hooks. It is 9,000 mm long, 2,1000 mm high and 2,200 mm wide. The maximum payload is about 2,500 kg, but the cargo space can be modified to carry 21 patients with attendants.

The pilot's cabin has instrumentation for two pilots and a nose seat for the flight engineer. The instrument panel has the usual navigation instruments and engine gauges of an entirely new design which have never before been mounted on a Soviet aircraft for Aeroflot. The middle panel is taken up by columnar temperature, pressure and fuel gauges with cylindrical scales. The other engine instruments are of the usual types. The engine starting levers are on the central console between the pilots, which also holds the spoiler control at the captain's right and the controls for both flap sections and the slots at the copilot's left. This nontraditional arrangement can also be seen only in the prototypes. The onboard equipment also includes a weather radar screen, the antenna for which is located in the nose under a plastic cover.

The prototype which was in Prague and Paris is named the "Eksperimental'nyy" and is designated the SSSR-83 966 (this was the second prototype; the first was designated SSSR-19 774). The two prototypes differ considerably from each other. The first has a box containing a drag chute above the cargo doors and two stabilizers at the rear. In addition, the rudder of the second modification has been changed. The taper to the top of the tail surfaces area is different: it is now longer and slimmer. The engine nacelles are also altered. Some in-flight photographs of the first prototype showed a Pitot tube mount forward.

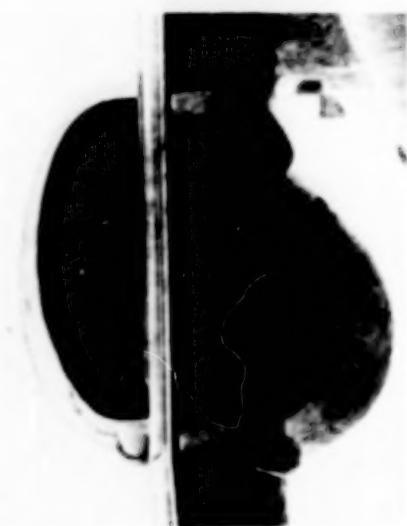
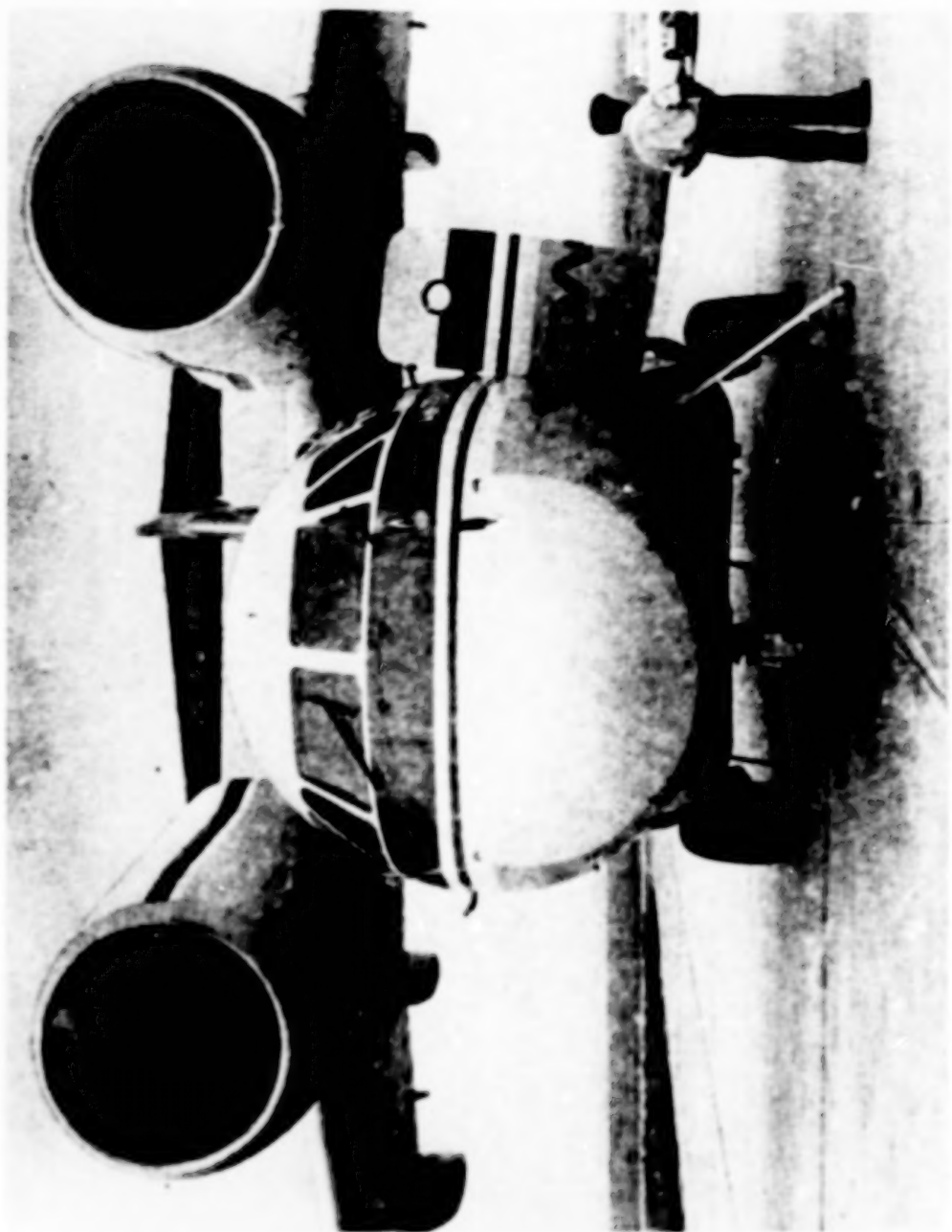
The aircraft has retractable undercarriage of the tricycle type. There are four main undercarriage legs, and each wheel, with a low-pressure pneumatic tire, is

mounted on one leg. Between the legs of the main landing gear, the SSSR-83 996 had a mechanical load indicator. This type of undercarriage enables the aircraft to operate from unimproved airstrips. In order to prevent foreign objects from entering the engines, they were mounted on the upper sides of the wings, which gave the design team the idea of using the Coanda effect.

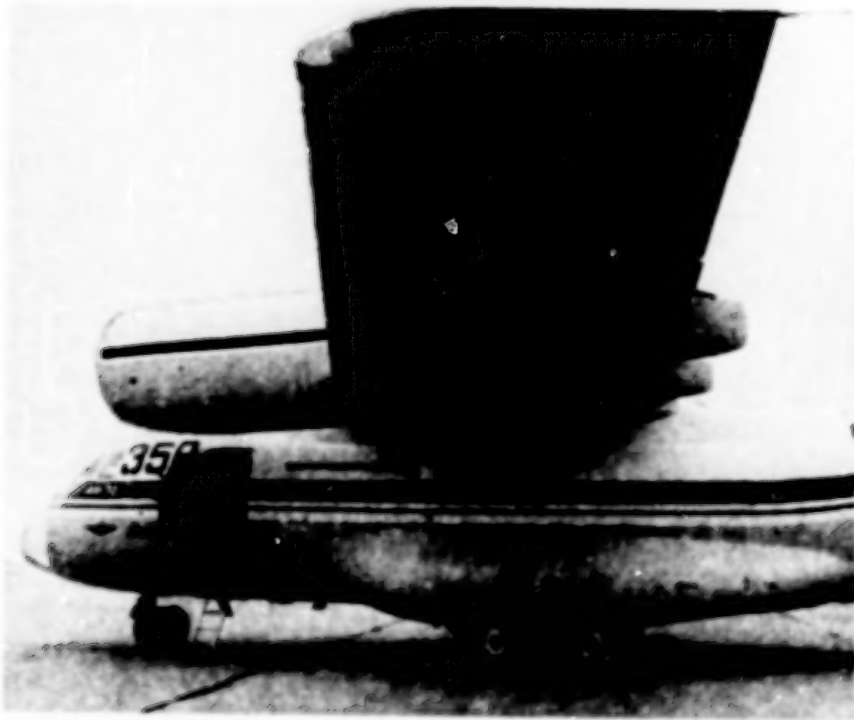
The first prototype was flown on 22 December 1977 and the second a month later. At the time of the Paris Air Show, both had flown more than 1,000 hours in 300 flights, according to Oleg K. Antonov's statement at a press conference in Paris. But development of the aircraft has not yet ended. The Soviet flight organization Aeroflot plans to introduce the "72" into areas with difficult accessibility where its capability for short takeoffs and landing on unimproved airstrips will show to advantage. The Soviet foreign trade enterprise Aviaeksport recently included the An-72 in its export selection. The advertising material also stresses the ease of handling of the aircraft, which is said to be no more demanding than the An-24 and An-26.

#### Technical Data on the An-72

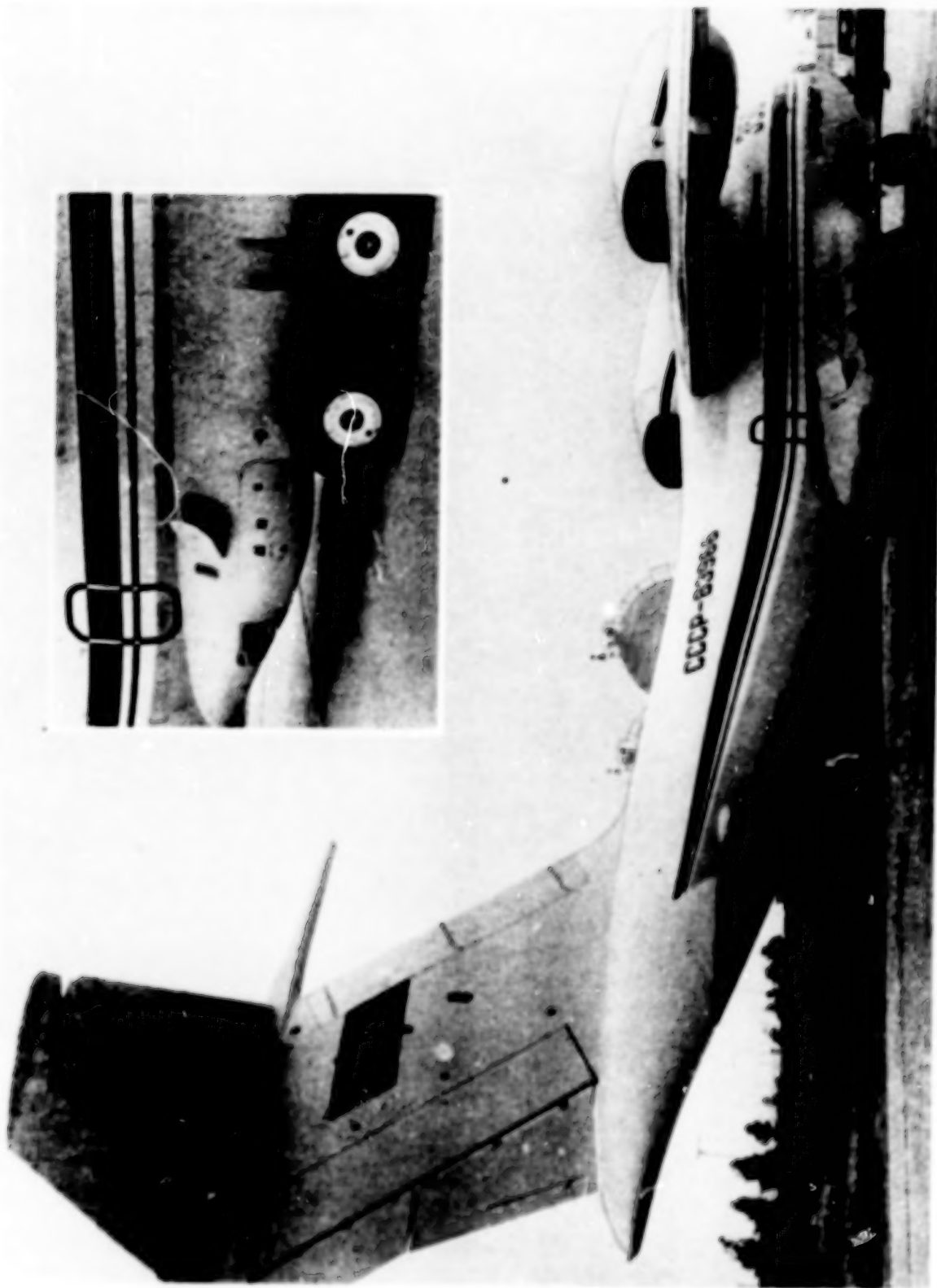
Wingspan	25.83 meters
Length	26.58 meters
Height	8.24 meters
Maximum takeoff weight	30,500 kg
Maximum payload	7,500 kg
Maximum cruising speed	750 kph
Engine thrust	2 x 63.8 kN
Ceiling	11,000 meters
Range	
with maximum payload	1,000 km
with maximum quantity of fuel	3,200 km













8480  
CSO: 2400/215

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**SOVIET ATS-59G IN ROMANIAN ARMY**—The Soviet ATS-59G artillery tractor has also been introduced into the ground forces of the Romanian People's Army. Our photograph [not reproduced] shows Romanian soldiers servicing an ATS-59G on a wash ramp. The tracklaying artillery tractor weighs 13.75 tons, and can carry a 3-ton load and tow up to 14 tons. The vehicle has a diesel engine with 221 kW (300 hp) at 1700 rpm. Top speed with trailer on unpaved roads is 22 to 27 km/h; range with trailer is 500 km (also see issue 4/76, p 178). The forward driver's cab seats four soldiers. [Text] [Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 24 No 7, Jul 81 p 395]  
8545

CSO: 8020/1706-C

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ISSUES STATUTE FOR YOUTH AFFAIRS OFFICE

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I  
No 36, 31 Dec 80 pp 369-372

[Official text of "Statute of the Office for Youth Affairs of the German Democratic Republic Council of Ministers--Council of Ministers Resolution--dated 1 December 1980," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers]

[Text] Article 1

(1) The Office for Youth Affairs of the German Democratic Republic Council of Ministers (henceforth referred to as Office for Youth Affairs), as an organ of the Council of Ministers, ensures the implementation of state tasks in socialist youth policy. It fulfills its tasks on the basis of the decisions by the workers class party, the GDR Constitution, the laws and other legal provisions, in close cooperation with the Central Council of the FDJ.

(2) The Office for Youth Affairs relies in its work on the decisions of the FDJ. It ensures coordination with the FDJ Central Council in preparing decisions for the Council of Ministers that affect the life of youth and in supervising the implementation of the GDR Youth Law and the state tasks of socialist youth policy.

(3) The Office for Youth Affairs aims its activity at the main concern of socialist youth policy, the communist education of all young people. To that end, it exercises an influence on the political-ideological work of the state and economic functionaries with youth, the promotion and development of economic activities of youth, its socialist cooperative work and scientific-technical creativity, its comprehensive participation in management and planning, its military policy education and training, and its military service preparation, including long-term provisions for new military career generations, and its intellectual-cultural and sports and tourist activities.

(4) The Office for Youth Affairs, as charged by the Council of Ministers, controls and analyzes the implementation of the GDR Youth Law and generalizes proven experiences of the state organs in the implementation of socialist youth policy. On behalf of a uniform solution of state tasks in socialist youth policy, it prepares appropriate decisions for the Council of Ministers. The Office for Youth Affairs submits suggestions for setting down youth policy tasks in legal regulations or decisions by the Council of Ministers.

(5) The Office for Youth Affairs recommends measures to the Council of Ministers for implementing the GDR Youth Law. It has the right to ask the competent central state organs and bezirk councils for recommendations and position papers on it. The Office for Youth Affairs exercises influence on the preparation of youth promotion plans and on conducting the Week of Youth and Athletes.

(6) The Office for Youth Affairs works together with the central state organs and the bezirk councils. It has the right to supervise the activity of the central state organs and the local councils in the implementation of the Youth Law and the preparation of decisions by the Council of Ministers. Exempted from that are state organs and their institutions as specified by the Council of Ministers.

## Article 2

(1) The Office for Youth Affairs is directed by the head of the Office for Youth Affairs in accordance with the principle of individual direction upon collective consultation about basic issues. The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible and accountable to the Council of Ministers for all the work of the Office for Youth Affairs. A staff is available to him as a consultative organ.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs issues orders and implementation regulations within the scope of his competency.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for the fulfillment of the tasks assigned to him in the field of national defense including civil defense and internal order and security.

(4) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in conformity with the Youth Law, ensures close cooperation with the FDJ Central Council and coordination with the managements and boards of other social organizations, particularly the FDGB, the DTSB of the GDR, and the GST.

(5) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs has to inform the Council of Ministers and its chairman on basic issues in the implementation of state tasks in socialist youth policy. He has the right to make recommendations to the Council of Ministers about receiving reports from ministers, heads of other central state organs, and chairmen of local councils.

(6) Agreement from the head of the Office for Youth Affairs is required for legal regulations issued by the ministers and heads of other central state organs which contain stipulations for the implementation of state tasks in socialist youth policy.

(7) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in cooperation with the state secretary for physical culture and sports, ensures the direction and supervision of the bezirk council members and department heads for youth affairs in physical culture and sports. He has the right to give them instructions within the scope of his responsibility. With the local council members and department heads for youth affairs, physical culture and sports, and with concurrence from the state secretary for physical culture and sports, he arranges for advanced training and courses.



### Article 3

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures that the state tasks in socialist youth policy are a component of long-range planning, of five-year planning and annual planning and of the accounting given for them. To that end, he cooperates with the State Planning Commission and other central state organs and the bezirk councils and submits appropriate recommendations.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, upon concurrence from the FDJ Central Council, submits recommendations to the competent central state organs on including tasks and objectives in their planning. He assists the central state organs and bezirk councils in the planning of state tasks in socialist youth policy.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, together with the State Planning Commission, the competent central state organs and the bezirk councils, prepares for the Council of Ministers the long-term plan for youth facilities and youth accommodation as an element of central planning.

### Article 4

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in concurrence with the FDJ Central Council, the FDGB National Executive Committee, the Presidium of the Chamber of Technology, and the central executive board of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, focuses on the fundamental tasks for the development of the movement of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs directs the central working team of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow. He coordinates and supervises the activity of the central state organs developing the movement of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and in preparing and conducting the Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow. To that end he cooperates with the central managements and boards of the social sponsoring organizations.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is accountable to the Council of Ministers for preparing and conducting the Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow.

### Article 5

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for assuming central state tasks in developing youth tourism. In concurrence with the FDJ Central Council, he ensures the measures necessary in support of the youth travel bureau of the GDR, "Jugendtourist."

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in concurrence with the FDJ Central Council, sets down requirements for the development of youth tourism facilities. He directs, controls and supports the activity of the local councils in implementing state tasks in the field of youth tourism.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures the registration of youth tourism facilities with the Office for Youth Affairs.

## Article 6

- (1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures the direction and control of the central state organs and local councils in preparing, correlating and funding the material, financial and personnel tasks for the development of youth tourism facilities as an element of five-year and annual plans and their implementation.
- (2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for preparing and implementing the investments in the Office for Youth Affairs. The central organization staff in the Office for Youth Affairs handles the tasks of the investment applicants.
- (3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in cooperation with the competent central state organs, ensures the preparation of standards for the construction, maintenance and furnishing of youth tourism facilities. He exercises an influence on preparing model and standard projects and their application in youth tourism facilities.
- (4) Studies and projects for the reconstruction and new construction of youth tourism facilities require the concurrence from the head of the Office for Youth Affairs.

## Article 7

- (1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs coordinates the activities of the central state organs in preparing and implementing the vacation activities of pupils and apprentices. To that end he cooperates with the social sponsoring organizations, the FDJ Central Council, the FDGB National Executive Committee, the DTSB National Executive Committee, and the GST Central Executive Board.
- (2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is the chairman of the central committee for vacation planning at the GDR Council of Ministers. In concurrence with the central managements and boards of the social sponsoring organizations and the heads of the competent central state organs, he ensures the direction for implementing the vacation activities of pupils and apprentices. He settles the responsibility and principles for the vacation planning committees under the local councils.
- (3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs analyzes the development of the vacation activities of pupils and apprentices and informs the Council of Ministers about results and experiences.
- (4) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in concurrence with the FDJ Central Council and the competent central state organs, lays down the requirements for the development of central pioneer camps. He supervises the activity of the competent central state organs and local councils in developing the camps as an element of five-year and annual planning.

## Article 8

- (1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for the state management of youth research in the GDR.
- (2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures the analysis of research results. He assists the central state organs and local councils in using the results of youth research.
- (3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs passes on the statute of the Central Institute for Youth Research as an institution within the Office for Youth Affairs.

## Article 9

- (1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for developing relations with the competent state organs of the socialist states in the field of youth policy.
- (2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs in cooperation with the competent central state organs ensures the exercise and implementation of the rights and obligations arising in the field of the state tasks of socialist youth policy from international law treaties and the GDR's membership in the United Nations and its special organizations.

## Article 10

The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in cooperation with the FDJ Central Council, submits to the chairman of the Council of Ministers, in conformity with legal regulations, recommendations for awarding youths and youth collectives and paying tribute to state and economic functionaries in recognition of outstanding distinctions in the implementation of the socialist youth policy. His responsibility, according to legal regulations, jointly with that of the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB National Executive Committee, is to examine the recommendations for state distinctions for youth collectives, youths and persons who greatly distinguished themselves in the communist education of youth.

## Article 11

- (1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible, within the scope of his competency, for strictly abiding by plan and finance discipline and ensuring highest effectiveness in the placing of material and financial assets.
- (2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for the planning of material and financial assets and the personnel requirements in the Office for Youth Affairs and its subordinate facilities and controls their effective use. He ensures the orderly preparation and implementation of the budget of the Office for Youth Affairs and the budgets of its subordinate facilities.
- (3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs passes on the job slots in the subordinate facilities of the Office for Youth Affairs and controls their being observed in conformity with legal regulations.

(4) In conformity with the FDJ Central Council, the head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures the use of funds on the central account of young socialists in accordance with legal regulations.

#### Article 12

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs has two deputies. The secretariat of the FDJ Central Council proposes their appointment to the Council of Ministers. The Office for Youth Affairs has a departmental structure. The structure and job slots in the Office for Youth Affairs are confirmed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for the rational structure of labor organization in his sphere of responsibility, for ensuring order and security, and for enforcing the socialist thrift principle. He is responsible for the direction and supervision of the executive associates subordinate to him and exacts accounting from them regularly. The head of the Office for Youth Affairs has the right to issue instructions to the executives and associates in the Office for Youth Affairs.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for the selection, development, education and advanced training of the personnel. He ensures the employment of the personnel in the Office for Youth Affairs and the formation of an employment reserve. He appoints and dismisses the executives in the subordinate facilities and starts and terminates the employment contracts of the associates in the Office for Youth Affairs.

(4) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures the direction and supervision of the executives in subordinate facilities and has the right to issue instructions to them.

#### Article 13

(1) The Office for Youth Affairs is a juridical person and budgeting organization. It has its seat in Berlin, capital of the GDR.

(2) The Office for Youth Affairs is represented in legal matters by the head of the Office for Youth Affairs or, in his absence, by a deputy or a person delegated for that purpose by him. Associates of the Office for Youth Affairs or other persons may, by written authorization from the head of the Office for Youth Affairs, represent the Office for Youth Affairs.

#### Article 14

(1) This statute goes into effect on 1 January 1981.

(2) It supersedes:

--The 17 May 1962 decree on the statute for the Office for Youth Affairs (GBL, Part II, No 42, p 367); and

--the 8 May 1975 resolution on providing the head of the Office for Youth Affairs with juridical authority (GBL, Part I, No 24, p 434).



NEW EQUIPMENT FOR ARMORED FORCES DEVELOPED

Ea. Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 29, 1981 signed to press 13 Jul 81 p 8

[Article by Lt Col W. Kopenhagen: "Purposefully Oriented Toward Main Tasks; Notes From the Innovator Conference of the Tank Services"]

[Text] The innovator conference of the tank services in mid-May 1981 was able to determine that the innovator movement in this area has continued to grow in the last 5 years. Thanks to numerous initiatives on the part of its members, the tank services have, for example, increased the number of exhibits at the formation fairs by 30 percent and for years have regularly shown eight to ten significant innovations in the exhibition section of the NVA [National People's Army] at the ZMO [Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow] in Leipzig, which corresponds to about 15 percent of all NVA exhibits. Statistically seen that is an encouraging picture. Still, much more important is this: Most of these innovations are produced collectively according to plan, that is, purposefully oriented and concentrated toward fulfilling main tasks in training, utilization, maintenance and repair, as well as material and technical safekeeping.

Innovators also face a number of interesting and tricky problems during the next few years. In the future there will be no more training time available than now. More efficiency is needed to assure the mastery of a number of new systems and components. The innovators are to help guarantee that the latest findings of scientific and technical progress are very rapidly transferred into military practice.

What tasks result therefrom specifically for the tank services? As before means and methods of purposefully improving technical and driver's instructions for tanks constitute a very extensive field of activity for innovation. In this regard the main consideration is to develop vivid and realistic means of instruction that will contribute to illustrating particularly complicated technical operations. Examples in this area are the driving trainers already introduced into training installations and work shops for BMP and tanks, the training stands and functional small tanks, along with a series of replicas and cut-away models for entire vehicles as well as individual components such as, for example, tank cannons and gas turbines.

Innovations with a direct benefit to training have also come into being in the units and the schools for noncommissioned officers. Included are devices for shutting off engines for driving instructors and training turrets for the SPW (armored personnel carrier)-60PB and the SPW-PSH.



All told the innovations have led to an increase in training efficiency of about 15 to 20 percent. A further focal point for future activity by innovators consists in perfecting the maintenance and repair processes in the units, in repair units in the formations and in the tank repair shops. Of concern in this regard is the organization and technological improvement of processes as well as the production and use of new methods and equipment. The goal is to increase work productivity and further improve job quality, further reduce the time required for maintenance and repair in the troop, and to make maintenance and repair work under field conditions even more economical and efficient. In recent years 56 percent of all suggested innovations submitted for the tank services dealt with improving the use and repair of tank technology or with increasing work productivity in the repair installations. Representative of the many innovations would be the set of special tools for mechanics developed by the collective of Lieutenant Colonel Hermann. In conjunction with the 1980 ~~Z:24~~ this collective was recognized by the minister of national defense.

Such innovations as the welding table by Private First Class Pech and the engine block capable of disassembly by Sergeant First Class Pomowski and the civilian Kohl rationalize repair under field conditions. Both objects have been incorporated in the equipment.

These and other suggestions contribute to increasing work productivity at an annual rate of about two to two and a half percent. In this regard the collectives for innovation should continue to seek solutions, according to leading officers in the tank services.

An equally extensive field of activity for innovation consists in increasing the readiness for action of tank technology and in reducing the time required to achieve combat readiness. Many problems have already been solved in order to improve preventive measures guaranteeing the reliability of tank technology, in order to reduce the time needed to put away tank technology following troop exercises, or in order to assure an orderly utilization of armored vehicles.

To name just a few examples: The valuable ideas of several innovator collectives contributed to the development of testing equipment with which the compressed air system in tank technology can be tested installed. With the aid of this equipment valuable time can be saved that would otherwise be spent in disassembly and assembly of components along with their inspection at test stands. An innovation by the collective associated with Comrade Engineer Pohl for the electric transfer pump MZA-3 saves time and prevents TS losses. The introduction of compressed air start filling equipment as well as systems to aid in starting and extraneous current feed into the armored vehicles fulfill further prerequisites for decreasing starting time.

Many suggestions and proposals by innovators have gone into all of these measures. In the final analysis they led to a decrease of a total of 12 percent over the last 5 years in the time required to put tank technology into operation. In this area as well the innovators in this service can continue to contribute with their ideas and suggestions in fulfilling future tasks.

Another word concerning the processing time: Those responsible see in the more rapid forwarding of suggestions for innovation the point of departure for reducing this time by about 15 percent. But the innovator himself can reduce the processing time by providing complete and substantive suggestions which will make further inquiries and extra work unnecessary.

## ACADEMICIANS ANALYZE SIGNIFICANCE OF PRUSSIAN HISTORY, CULTURE

### Relevance of Prussian History Studies

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 19 Mar 81 p 9

[First of 14 articles of 'Prussia--Legend and Reality' series, by Prof Dr Horst Bartel, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Our Picture of History Has Sharp and Valid Features--Basic Outline Drawn by Our Classic Forerunners --Tasks of Today's Historians"]

[Text] Beginning today BERLINER ZEITUNG publishes a series of contributions to the history of Prussia from the end of the 17th century to the dissolution of the Prussian state in 1947. The authors are scientists at the Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences. The introductory contribution deals with the theme, "We and Prussia."

Why are we dealing now so intensively with the history of Prussia?

That, or something like that, is the question that is often being asked. As an historian, one is tempted to respond, in amazement, with a counter-question: Have we dealt less intensively with Prussian history in previous years? Actually, it never was a side track in Marxist-Leninist historiography. Granted, dealing with Prussian history today is important not only for an historian but especially also for a broad public in connection with the question about our relationship with our historic heritage, and thus gains interesting and new topical aspects.

This issue has in recent times become ever more clearly subject to sharp ideological confrontation between the two German states. Many more people thus find themselves confronted with the topic of Prussia than some 15 or 20 years ago. There can, furthermore, be observed generally a growing interest in history in the GDR. Quite assuredly that has something to do with the process of penetrating intellectual-cultural changes taking place along with the further construction of the developed socialist society. That process makes possible--indeed, it demands--an ever more comprehensive creative-critical relationship also with the history of our people. Prussian history is part of it. On account of the place and role of Prussia, it is an essential component of that history.

## Confrontation With Reactionary Prussianism

The direct confrontation with reactionary Prussianism was a very important task in the early postwar years in surmounting the fascist and militaristic ideology. But it was not only a matter of an intellectual reorientation. After 1945, the Junkers and monopoly capitalists were rendered impotent in the GDR territory, which destroyed the social pillars of Prussian-German militarism and of Prussianism. Through the antifascist-democratic transformation, the establishment of the GDR and the construction of socialism, a radical break was made from the reactionary past. That included the break from reactionary Prussianism. Precisely for these reasons we can today speak and write more leisurely about the history of Prussia, from the standpoint of socialism, which has taken deep roots among us in the GDR.

## Part of Our Historic Legacy

Certain events and the attention given to the topic of Prussia in contemporary intellectual life induced some people to raise some questions. But the thesis propagated by certain circles abroad of a new image of Prussia in the GDR is pure nonsense.

We have no reason to revise the picture of Prussia as it was drawn in its sharp and valid outlines by Marx, Engels and Mehring. That image of history retains its validity in its basic structure.

But why should one not continue to reflect about one thing or another?

For a long time Prussia was the largest and most important German territorial state. Since the end of the 17th century it had a great influence on the history of the German people, even of Europe. And are we not confronted with the history of Prussia to this very day? Be it residues of history legends about the "Old Fritz," legends of bourgeois-reactionary coinage, or influences by Western propaganda or local traditions which are relatively prominent in some areas, mainly in the former Mark Brandenburg. Prussian history also confronts us in literature, in the works of Fontane and Kleist, for example. And what would our beautiful old Berlin be without the monuments of high artistic rank built under the regency of Prussian kings?

Many threads thus connect our present with the past, regardless of the way we look at it.

Prussian history is a part of our historic legacy. We are facing that legacy while the position we take is clear, of course, and unmistakable, that of the victorious workers class.

We accept as a fact that the history of Prussia is not identical with that of the Hohenzollern or of Prussianism. The issue taken with Prussia by Marx, Engels and Mehring--and by all other representatives of the revolutionary workers movement--always concerned the reactionary policy of the ruling classes and the manifestations suggested by the concept "reactionary Prussianism." We mean by that the reactionary domestic and foreign policy of Prussian Junkerdom and its representatives, the Hohenzollern kings, and the ideologically embellished basic stance by the

ruling class in Prussia, its effects also showing in the middle class, the peasants and other strata: pride of place, nationalistic arrogance and a spirit of aggression, submissiveness, blind utter surordination, cant and subjective devotion. All progressive forces in German history in bitter struggle opposed this Prussianism, which carried on despotically within and aggressively to the outside.

But there still was a "different Prussia." Our sharp indictment of reactionary Prussianism by no means makes us blind to the progressive elements existing in the history of that country. The at times rapid development of the Prussian state, its economy and its culture is inconceivable without the achievements of the people, the peasants, the lower middle class, especially the young workers class, the intelligentsia, and even parts of the bourgeoisie, even, indeed, of individual forces within the Prussian nobility.

The founders of our world-outlook never ignored the progressive propensities and tendencies in the history of Prussia. From our watch tower in social development, and furnished with the knowledge of many newly tapped historical sources, we can be still more discriminating in looking at our historic legacy without, while doing so, surrendering positions achieved.

#### Further Elaboration of the Image of History

The GDR historians consider it a necessary and interesting task further to elaborate the image of Prussia in history, while confronting in principle the history of the Prussian state and of its ruling classes. This they do, for example, by emphasizing the great progressive achievements of the popular masses, the cultural and scientific values accomplished and the at times especially rapid development of the productive forces in that country. This concern also applies to a more discriminating assessment of individual rulers or ruling classes and their representatives.

In this sense, the article series about Prussia starting today is meant to contribute to the further development of its image in history.

#### Promotion of Art, Militarism

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 23 Apr 81 p 9

[Fourth of 14 articles of 'Prussia—Legend and Reality' series, by Dr Hannelore Lehmann, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "'Athens' and 'Sparta' in Conflict—Brandenburg-Prussia as Feudal Military Camp"]

[Text] In his "Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg," King Frederick II compared the reign of his grandfather with that of his father, the "soldiers' king," and wrote: "Under Frederick I Berlin was the Athens of the north, under Frederick William it became Sparta."

As in the ancient city state, general trade and architecture, art and science blossomed toward the end of the 17th century in the court and the capital. All that germinated under Elector Frederick William. It all blossomed under the aegis of Eberhard von Danckelmann, who came from a bourgeois Westphalian family, educated the elector's heir Frederick and, after he had come to the throne, became the chief statesman in Brandenburg-Prussia. Also the highly cultured wife of the elector,



Sophia Charlotte, encouraged Berlin's cultural rise. The Arts Academy was established there in 1696, the Society of the Sciences in 1700, and its first president was the great universal scholar Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz. In 1710, they started the Charite Hospital.

#### Elector Frederick III Becomes the King of Prussia

Berlin found a competitor in Halle which for a while became the center, way beyond the empire, of progressive doctrines and aspirations through the university founded there in 1694 and the Francke Foundations, a large-scale pedagogical and commercial enterprise of progressive-religious provenance. There were close relations with Tsar Peter I and his circle. Noted artists and scholars, such as Brandenburg-Prussia could hardly produce itself at the time, came to these towns, finding places to work and shelter from religious persecution. The ingenious architect and sculptor Andreas Schluter was in Berlin from 1694 till 1715 where he adorned the court of the armory with 21 highly expressive masks of dying warriors and created the equestrian statue of Elector Frederick William, the central part of the Charlottenburg Palace and many other outstanding works.

Students rushed to Halle to hear the jurist and philosopher Christian Thomasius. He gave lectures, not in the customary Latin but in German, and fought in words and by his pen against the practice of torture. Still more famous was the mathematician and philosopher Christian Wolff, who in his works promoted the spread of the early enlightenment through large parts of Europe. The Enlightenment was an all-European emancipation of bourgeois thought from the fetters of the feudal ideology. It took hold in Brandenburg-Prussia, initially on soil alien to it, but even in its early phase left ineradicable traces.

For Elector Frederick III, the arts and sciences hardly meant anything more than means to satisfy his superficial ostentatiousness. His supreme desire was to adorn himself with the royal title. Danckelmann, who rejected that plan, incurred displeasure and was confined in the fortress. In 1701, this personally insignificant ruler, with the Emperor's agreement, crowned himself the king of Prussia in the capital of his sovereign Duchy. He thus did not become the king in the total area of the Hohenzollern territories, but could add this high-sounding title to his other titles and, manipulated by a parasitical clique of nobles, started a waste out of all proportion with his revenue, which invoked a state crisis. For the successors of King Frederick I the new title became a dangerous spur for stronger power politics.

King Frederick William I in 1713 rigorously stopped the court's wastefulness but also the promotion of the arts and sciences. Goethe's great-uncle Johann Michael von Loen, visiting the court of Berlin in 1718, praised its good manners and thrift. In view of the accumulated funds, he wrote, with reference to the monarch: "What still matters now only is what he is going to do with them. They are the best means to provide blossoming prosperity for his ample estates and to improve the meagre acres by his lush dung, as it were."

Reality, however, left no doubt in this visitor either that those treasures were chiefly intended for army concerns.



Berlin—as Frederick II wrote in his "Memoirs"—had turned into a "Martial camp." No longer did it remind one, in its sobriety and military cut, of Athens, but of the ancient military state of Sparta. All of Brandenburg-Prussia resembled Berlin. In 1714, at the end of the Spanish War of Succession, army strength was up to 40,000 men. It was not reduced, which was against all custom. On the contrary. The soldiers' king quartered his recruits in the country and furthermore started a wild coercive recruitment to enlarge and improve his total strength. Terror and resistance spread through the population. The king had to become delicate about it but held to his line. When he died in 1740, army strength was up to 81,000 men.

Finally it had come to the point that Brandenburg-Prussia had, next to France, Russia and Austria, the largest army in Europe though in terms of land area it ranked the 10th largest and in terms of population, only the 13th largest.

This extreme army strength could on the long run be maintained only if one placed on the people, in addition to material burdens, the burden of military service which would only end at old age or through disability and was feared and hated because of its cruel penalties and degrading drill methods. That was done by means of the so-called canton system.

Every regiment was assigned a certain area (canton) for recruiting, made lists of the peasant lads and enlisted them as soon as they were old enough. Because the native nobility, in obedience to the will of the king, had to provide the officers' caste, the hostile contrast between commanding and whipping manorial rights and reluctantly obeying submissive peasants was reproduced in the army in the relations between the officers corps and the enlisted men. That put a mark on militarism in Brandenburg-Prussia that was exceptionally reactionary.

#### Double Burdens on Obedient Subjects

Uniform organization, constant drill and a targeted introduction of military innovations turned the Prussian army into a highly functional and dangerous machine. During the lifetime of its creator it hardly ever went into operation, however.

Frederick William I concentrated on domestic policy. His idea was to conserve the prevailing social order as a basis for a taxation and defense setup and to stabilize it through further population growth and reforms. That was served by municipal and guild reforms, edicts against the expropriation of the peasant proprietors, the settling of religious refugees from Salzburg and Bohemia, the letting of domain lands, the protection and monopolies for manufacturing enterprises, canal construction, amelioration, the setting up of chairs in economics and so forth. A reorganized civil service apparatus, accurately calibrated, served these measures importantly.

With the stick and with pious maxims the absolutistic state brought up obedient subjects eager to serve and pay taxes. They bore the twofold burden of reaction and restricted progress.

## Power Politics of Frederick the Great

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 30 Apr 81 p 11

[Fifth of 14 articles of 'Prussia--Legend and Reality' series, by Prof Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "A Conservative Pays Homage to the New--What Were the Aims of Prussian King Frederick II?"]

[Text] About no other Hohenzollern king are there as many legends as about Frederick II. The reasons for that are likely to be found in the contradictory nature of that monarch, who was a military man and an aesthete at once, as well as in the later development. Liberals as well as reactionaries referred to the king. The liberals, because they thereby sought to protest against the intolerance in matters of the "freedom of the mind and of the press" that started under Frederick's successors. The reactionaries, because the power politics of Frederick II offered them many handles for their own aggressive intentions. One must penetrate all these legends to find the actual core in this tradition if one wants to deal with the person, politics and effectiveness of this Prussian king.

### Through Annexation Into a Big European Power

Acceding to the throne in 1740, the 28-year old monarch staked out the whole range of his future policy in the first half year already of his reign. Willingness for reforms domestically, as long as the boundaries of the prevailing order remained untouched, came coupled with a clearly aggressive foreign policy program. "I move from land to land, from conquest to conquest and, like Alexander, always plan to conquer new worlds," he had announced.

The death of Emperor Charles VI, and the conditions of the Hapsburg lands in disarray, induced the young prince, who tended to make hasty decisions, to invade and conquer Silesia, which was part of the Austrian monarchy at the time. Thereby Frederick II started the War of the Austrian Succession which lasted until 1748 and involved, in addition to England and France, still other territorial states which, like the Prussian king, sought to benefit from Maria Theresa's inheritance.

The conquest of Silesia raised the rank of the Prussia of Frederick II to that of a big European power, even though the smallest of them. What his predecessors had sought to achieve in vain, this glory-craving Prussian king accomplished at once. Not only his people and his country had to pay a high price for it.

Stirred by the act of aggression from this "upstart," a "grand coalition" was formed (of France, Austria, Russia, Sweden and Saxony) intending to partition the Prussian monarchy and reducing it to the scale of the Mark Brandenburg. In 1756 Frederick II dealt a preventative strike by which he sought to bust the "grand coalition" and make his own aggressive aims prevail. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) led Prussia to the brink of disaster. It extracted immense sacrifices from the people in the Prussian provinces but also in the other states overrun by the war, mainly Saxony, Bohemia and Moravia. Settlements destroyed, human lives snuffed out, an economy in ruins and social misery was the price for holding on to Silesia.

The consequences of the Prussian act of aggression ranged into the far distant future. Brandenburg-Prussia maintained its supremacy. Its population, territory and financial income increased by circa one third through the annexation of Silesia. That altered the power ratio in the Empire. The Hapsburgs now had to face an equally strong rival, in Prussia. The Prussian-Austrian dualism resulting from that continued into the late 19th century. It affected the urgently needed solution of the national question. But that Frederick II never thought about when making war because his thinking was dynastic, not national in concept.

Only when one starts with the aggressive foreign policy of Frederick II, the next victim of which was the Polish state in 1772, can one properly assess the domestic development of Brandenburg-Prussia between 1740 and 1786. The monarch wanted to strengthen Prussia, turn it into a country whose name other nations would pronounce with respect and fear. But that he could only do if he did not close himself off from innovations in the economic and cultural field, which emanated from more developed countries, the Netherlands, England and France.

And so a phase in the development of the state began in Europe with Frederick II which French contemporaries would call enlightened despotism and later historians, enlightened absolutism. They thereby pointed to some new manifestations in the policy of absolutistic rulers, an increased willingness to adapt to new inevitabilities coming in with manufacture capitalism growing strong in Europe.

Frederick II lived in a transitional period. When he came to the throne there were already two social orders in Europe. He himself became an "eye-witness" of the American Revolution, and 3 years after his death the great revolution of the French initiated the era of capitalism. The change in preparation did not fail to have its effects on the feudal world. Europe's crowned heads reacted to it, provided they were sensitive enough, like the Prussian king, to perceive the changes.

#### Attempts at Adapting to New Developments

First the monarch's answer to the new manifestations was ideological. He absorbed suggestions by Germans and Frenchmen of the early Enlightenment and developed his conception of the state with reference to the history of the Netherlands. In 1739 he had expressed his intention to make his people "happy." A "contented people will never think of rioting, a happy people fears the loss of its ruler." To strengthen Prussia's power-politics, accommodate it to the new developments and to reign in such a way that no cause for revolt arises--that was the goal the monarch had adopted.

Frederick II was a thoroughly conservative man who wanted to "conserve" what existed. That he could no longer do, however, without paying tribute to what was new. This he mainly did in the fields of culture, science and jurisprudence. His reviving the Academy of Sciences, the brief suspension of censorship for some Berlin newspapers, the loose handling of censorship later in cases not affecting the vital interests of the state, the moderation of the penal code, the abolition of torture, except for lese majesty, the tolerance in religious matters, which his predecessors had already practiced, and the codification of existing law, limited though all that was, did win him the sympathies of many progressive representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia. Already hopes were being fed that it should be possible to make social changes with the help from enlightened rulers.



## Protecting the Privileges of the Nobility

But ultimately those hopes were deceived. Frederick II, to be sure, on behalf of his power politics, sought to strengthen Prussia economically, for which reason he encouraged manufacturing, not always through effective means, and at times enforced innovations in agriculture against the will of the nobility. But he curbed his own endeavors by simultaneously doing everything to preserve the prevailing order. Frederick II protected the privileges of the nobles; let them keep the land monopoly and thus the right to exploit the peasants in feudal bondage.

When he died in 1786, Prussia was a military power feared by others. Commerce and manufacturing flourished, the middle class grew strong. Yet the country still was in a crisis. Absolutism, even the enlightened variant of it, could no longer meet the demands of the new era.

## People's Role in 1813 Uprising

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 4 Jun 81 p 9

[Eighth of 14 articles of 'Prussia--Legend and Reality' series, by Dr Heinz Helmert, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "The Revolt and the New Start of 1813--When the People Took Up Arms Against Napoleon's Foreign Domination"]

[Text] A Cossack detachment under Colonel Tettenborn, coming from Pankow, had entered Berlin on 20 February 1813 but, being fairly weak, could not hold out against the French garrison--Berlin was under French occupation--and had to withdraw again the same day. Impatiently the Berliners were waiting for the arrival of stronger Russian forces.

In January the news had spread of an agreement which General Yorck, commanding a Prussian auxiliary corps of the Napoleonic army, was said to have negotiated with the Russian General Diebitsch in a mill near Tauroggen near the Russo-Prussian border. Men and women were convinced the hour had finally come for Prussia and the German people to rise up resolutely for their national liberation. Their hatred aimed against the yoke the French Emperor Napoleon had imposed on them after the defeat of the Prussian army at Jena and Auerstedt and the peace of Tilsit in 1807.

"Now again the time has come," General Bluecher in those days wrote to General Scharnhorst, the military head of the reform party, "to do what I recommended in 1809, to call the whole nation to arms, and if the princes do not want it and oppose it, to chase them all out together with Bonaparte."

As a matter of fact, the liberal reformers around Baron von Stein and Gerhard Scharnhorst had been working since 1808, and especially since 1809, for an uprising by the Prussian monarchy against Napoleon, the whole people behind it. To achieve success they were not afraid to use Jacobinic measures, while they were of course also seeking a war alliance with the Russian tsar, the Austrian emperor and the British cabinet.

## Only a People's War Could Break Napoleon's Power

Favorable circumstances resulted from the raids against Napoleonic power by insurgents in the kingdom of Naples, Portugal and Spain, which had started there in 1806, 1807 and 1808 with uprisings against Napoleon's governors. Austria too, after hasty reforms in military affairs and the government administration, sought to regain the territories it had lost in its conflict with France by a war in 1809. The attempt was popular enough. After all, Beethoven had dedicated his military march in F, No 1 (which later became well known as the Yorck March) to the Bohemian militia. But the Austrian strategy lacked all dash and fire. The Austrian monarchy gave up even before all forces assembled had met the enemy in a concentrated fashion. The resurrections sparked by that war in Tirol and northern Germany failed because of it and because of being so isolated. It became evident in 1809 that that Corsican's immense power could be broken only by a people's war.

## Attack on the Tsarist Empire Ended in Helpless Flight

To consolidate definitely his sway over the largest part of the continent and, at once, deal a fatal blow against his capitalist competitor, Great Britain, Napoleon Bonaparte in the summer of 1812 attacked the tsarist empire with his Grand Army. He had put up half a million soldiers, many Germans, Italians, Netherlanders and Poles among them. Almost against the will of the tsarist court the Russian people and army turned the war against Napoleon into a patriotic war, dismissed any thought of surrender when he nonetheless occupied Moscow and finally forced him to withdraw. The resolute pursuit by Field Marshal Kutuzov's troops and partisans turned that into an unholy rout. Puny remains of Napoleon's Grand Army returned, among them the Prussian auxiliary corps under Yorck's command, undefeated.

Napoleon fled to Paris to make plans, in the Tuileries, about continuing his war because he did have strong reserves through which his losses could in part be made up. Also between the Oder and the Weser and in the states of the Confederation of the Rhine considerable forces assembled covering the French deployment and taking part in the counter-offensive. That lent the Prussian provinces a strategically decisive position.

In Prussia the resurrection against Napoleon spread slowly but all the more surely. Brandenburg villages put up a militia of their own, volunteers followed the Russian troops, and in March 1813 Russian troops, with Prussian troops following them, liberated Berlin and many other places. The Prussian court was terrified, to be sure, obstructed the popular uprising and delayed the cooperation of its own army with the Russians, but it could not dispose of the insurrection once it had started, since even army leaders were calling for war against France. Scharnhorst and his fellow-combatants enforced long overdue reform measures they needed for the approaching uprising by the people's forces against Napoleon.

## The Court and the Junkers Used the Victory for Their Own Ends

Young men and mature men, peasants, craftsmen, pupils, students, wage laborers among them, volunteered in hurrying to the assembly points. Enlisting, equipping and training them, the whole mobilization in fact, took place under the most difficult circumstances, which could be coped with only through the voluntary sacrifice of all of one's property. In spite of all that the Prussian and Russian forces



remained small, considering the tasks, even though they were supported by popular uprisings and guerrilla detachments between the Elbe and the Rhine. The allies suffered two defeats, at Grossgörschen and Bautzen, during their spring campaign, which required their withdrawal to the Oder and advised a truce with Napoleon early in June.

Gradually the enormous efforts, which were still increased, made themselves pay. Reserves joined the Prussian field army, among them mainly the militias that had been formed in all parts of the country and impressively embodied the people under arms and the popular resurrection which the people itself had insisted on. With respect Franz Mehring wrote that its 1813 uprising had been "a struggle conducted with incomparable heroism" which to commemorate the workers class had every reason. At the same time, however, the 1813 fall campaign also started as the war of a coalition of reactionary monarchies which, in addition to Russian and Prussia, was also joined by Austria and Sweden, and which would exploit all victories for its own end. The campaign had its ups and downs until the allies won in mid-October in the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig. Napoleon's power declined and disintegrated in 1814 and 1815 in France as well.

Prussia had liberated itself outwardly. The court and Junkers, however, used the people's victory to restore their feudal domination and suppress the people once again.

#### Prussia Cult and Nazism

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 23 Jul 81 p 9

[Thirteenth of 14 articles of 'Prussia--Legend and Reality' series, by Dr Klaus Scheel, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Iron and Blood in New Form--The Potsdam Marriage of Fascism With Old-Time Reaction"]

[Text] At 12 o'clock sharp on 21 March 1933, the glockenspiel of the garrison church in Potsdam sounded its tune, "Ueb immer Treu und Redlichkeit" (Abide by Faith and Honesty). That day it tolled for an act of state which propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels had staged. Even the choice of the date had been carefully considered. On 21 March 1871 Otto von Bismarck had summoned the German Diet for its opening session in the Prussian House of Deputies in Berlin. "Iron and blood" were the midwives of the second German Reich. They also fathered the Third Reich on 30 January 1933. Potsdam was to make evident that it was all over with the "spirit of Weimar."

In a speech in April 1932, Goebbels had offered the Nazi party's allegiance to "Prussianism" and affirmed without reservation: "Prussian militarism! Prussian utter subordination! Prussian discipline!" Now the "Day of Potsdam" was to set a marker for mass agitation. The town was wrapped in a sea of swastika banners and black-white-red flags of the Empire. Only a few days before they had become the flags of the Reich, doing away with the black-red-gold flag.

## The Spectacle in the Garrison Church

In the garrison church, above the vault of the Prussian kings, there sat, in the uniform of an imperial general field marshal, Paul von Hindenburg, officiating for the last 8 years as president of the Reich. Next to him, the former corporal and now Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler, the "Fuehrer" of the Nazi party.

Hindenburg invoked the spirit of Prussia in his speech. He glanced at the Hohenzollern box, where an armchair was being kept vacant for William II. The former emperor had sent the former crown prince in his stead, however. Hitler's speech praised the splendor of the olden days and lamented the disintegration of the Reich. Now, however, Hitler exclaimed, "the marriage was performed between the symbols of old greatness and young strength." By "young strength" he meant the Nazi party which had been handed the power on the insistence of the most aggressive segment of German finance capital.

An expression of this "marriage" was that Prince August William of Prussia had reported in the brown uniform of an SA upper group leader, while the Hohenzollern Princes Eitel Frederick and Oscar of Prussia stood there in field grey, in an honor company, ready for full marching order. The parade in front of Hindenburg brought units of the army, the SA and SS, the police and the "Stahlhelm" together.

## Seizing Power by Murder and Terror

Recalling "Prussia's gloria" was meant to help consolidate the fascist dictatorship. For weeks a pitiless terrorist campaign had been raging against communists and honest antifascists. The strong parliamentary faction of the KPD had been disbanded in violation of the Constitution. The conservatives readily supported that demarche and on 23 March 1933 voted for extraordinary powers to be given to Hitler, in the Diet. But he, even then, frustrated their hopes for reintroducing the monarchy, declaring that intention to be out of consideration entirely. In the course of the elimination of all local opposition, Goering was appointed Prussian Prime Minister and then the Prussian ministries were merged with those of the Reich, and the provincial diet was put out of action. The eagle on Prussia's code of arms got a swastika attached to his breast.

When some high SA leaders were shot on 30 June 1934, some conservative politicians and the generals von Schleicher and von Bredow also were murdered. The SA leaders around Ernst Roehm wanted more power and had to die for the benefit of the alliance of the Nazi leadership with the army general staff. To get rid of the SA leaders competing with them, the generals had given their blessings to the murder operation in good time. The monopoly bosses likewise, for the sake of bigger armaments business, approved the bloody action against those the regime had found unaccommodating. SS leaders of the Prussian nobility held an exposed position during the strike against the SA. Among the victims as well as the murderers there were men who claimed to be Prussians. As noisily as the Prussian "virtues" were being propagated--they did not mean a thing to the reactionary forces when it came to more advantages, power and profits.

## KPD Fought Against Reaction With Fortitude

The KPD fought resolutely against the disastrous policy of fascist German imperialism. In his article, "Germany Under the Spell of Blood and Iron," Wilhelm Pieck wrote in 1936: "Fascism is leading the German people toward war, driving it into disaster."

There were only few in the ruling class with any scruples about the adventurous nature of the war course and the barbaric subjugation and exploitation policy. Only few made their way toward struggling alongside the vanguard of the workers class.

The turning point in World War II, gained by the Red Army in 1943, and the setting up of the Free Germany National Committee, on KPD initiative, became important road signs to a better future. The National Committee was also acknowledged by generals and officers of the Prussian nobility and the middle class who had come to recognize while in Soviet captivity the need for the struggle against fascism. They devoted themselves actively to the preservation of the progressive Prussian traditions and recalled, e.g., the spirit of the wars of liberation and the German-Russian comradeship-in-arms.

## Ready to Cooperate

The great-grand-nephew of field marshal Helmuth Count von Moltke, Helmuth James Count von Moltke, met in his mansion with anti-Nazi officers and politicians. Some of these members of the Kreisau Circle were ready to cooperate with the National Committee and the KPD. Other men too, from the progressive wing of the 20 July conspiracy, took that course. Yet the reactionary wing around Col Gen Beck and Carl Goerdeler only wanted to preserve through Hitler's overthrow the class domination by German imperialism.

## The Cult of Prussia Sacrificed Millions of People

After the conspiracy against Hitler on 20 July 1944 had failed, fascist terror raged. Its victims as well as its perpetrators included men whose allegiance was with Prussianism. Field marshals like Rundstedt and Keitel and tank general Guderian were members of a "court of honor" that kicked the conspirators of 20 July out of the army and had them decapitated or hanged. Famous names of members of the Prussian nobility were among the victims of Nazi justice, while others remained loyal to the criminal regime. Also the glorification of the spirit of submissiveness and the obedience to duty, "to the last drop of blood," remained important elements of Nazi propaganda to the end of the war. The deliberate kindling of the cult of Prussia made millions of people lose their lives.

The destruction of fascism opened a way to a definite settling of accounts with Prussianism.

## Prussia's Dissolution, Legacy

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 30 Jul 81 p 9

[Last of 14 articles of 'Prussia--Legend and Reality' series, by Dr Siegfried Thomas, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Prussia Ceased to Exist--Allied Control Council Decided on Dissolution--But What About the Old Spirit?"]

[Text] Almost 2 years after the end of World War II, on 25 February 1947, the Allied Control Council, the supreme organ of the four-power administration in Germany, passed its law no. 46. It dissolved the state of Prussia, its central government and all its subordinate authorities.

At the first glance this Control Council law seemed a superfluous act to many. The state no longer existed anyway, and even as a geographic concept Prussia had ceased to exist in 1945. The area from which it had once derived its name and the eastern territories its rulers had conquered in the 18th century had been given to Poland or the Soviet Union. Their loss came at the expense of the power politics of German-fascist imperialism which had its own roots, not last, in the reactionary Prussian military state.

### Bitter Experiences Urged Measures

Laender had arisen out of what had been left as provinces in Germany--Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, in the east, Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, in the west.

The dissolution of Prussia the Control Council had decreed was, to be sure, more than just the legal fixing of a fact. There should never again be a Prussia because that state--as the preamble to law no. 46 put it--"always has been the base of militarism and reaction in Germany." Its dissolution proclamation was among those measures by the four occupation powers that were meant to serve the preservation of peace and the democratization of Germany. It was an aspect of the policy decided on in Potsdam for the demilitarization, de-Nazification and democratization of Germany.

Incidentally, there were representatives of the western powers who during World War II had most persistently called for the territorial dismemberment of Prussia. At the "Big Three" meeting in Teheran in 1943, the British Prime Minister Churchill called Prussia the rotten core of Germany, the notorious trouble-maker and destroyer of the nations. Quite that strong also was the anti-Prussian bias in Roosevelt and the head of the provisional government of France, General de Gaulle. So it was no coincidence that the designs contemplated by Britain and the United States for a complete dismemberment of Germany also focused on the territorial disintegration of Prussia. Responsible West European and U.S. politicians were not unfamiliar with the realization that there was a close connection between reactionary Prussianism, German militarism and fascist power politics.



That understanding contributed not a little to finding a common basis for dealing with defeated Germany among the main anti-Hitler coalition powers.

#### Contra Prussia--Or With Ulterior Motives

As far as Prussia was concerned, however, the Soviet partner in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam needed not to be persuaded about the ominous influence of its reactionary traditions on the policy of fascist Germany. As Marxists, the statesmen of the USSR were thoroughly familiar with the particulars of German imperialism, its Junker-bourgeois and military character. In its negotiations with the Western powers, however, the Soviet side started from the conviction that the dismemberment of its territory could not prevent further German aggression. They favored eliminating the evil with its roots, as it was finally set down in the Yalta and Potsdam resolutions.

There was no one in occupied postwar Germany in 1945 who would openly have said anything in favor of Prussia. That name had become discredited too badly. Even in the newly established bourgeois parties, a pronounced anti-Prussianism was de rigueur as an expression of antifascism. Not a few bourgeois ideologists and politicians, outspoken representatives of the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie among them, came forth with resolutely anti-Prussian protestations.

Thus Wilhelm Roepke, one of the founding spirits of the FRG, found the roots of the deformation of the German national character and of the formation and political and economic structures that had eased fascism's way to power in Prussia and the Prussianization of Germany. Konrad Adenauer likewise regarded the Prussian-German Empire as the precursor of the fascist dictatorship. But both at the same time rejected any responsibility for that development by the monopoly bourgeoisie. As early as in 1945, the demand for a dismemberment of Bismarck's empire came combined with the call for forming a federal or confederate state which originally was intended to be confined to the territory in the Western zones of occupation.

The proponents of a federalization of Germany, by and large identical with the advocates of a separate West German state and opponents to a centralized united state of Germany, finally argued that only a federal state structure could guarantee a genuine democratic development for Germany and would ensure the security of its European neighbors.

But this was all only talk. In truth, as KPD Chairman Wilhelm Pieck disclosed as early as in early 1946, these people wanted to sneak away from the bankruptcy Hitler had left behind and "save forces of German imperialism from destruction at least in parts of Germany."

Already in 1947, the United States together with Great Britain and France began to fashion a German state out of the three Western zones of occupation. Doing so, they endeavored to make the impression as if that policy still conformed with the Potsdam resolutions and the state they projected had nothing in common with its precursor, the imperialist German empire and its traditions.



The official text makes it appear that something entirely new in German history was created in the FRG. Not rarely one can read the opinion that the FRG actually is the antipode of the authoritative Prusso-German state.

#### The Old Spirit Behind a New Facade

At the first glance the FRG has little resemblance with the German Empire of Bismarck's coinage. But if one takes a closer look, the continuity becomes unmistakable. Behind the state's bourgeois-parliamentary facade the same class forces have the say--so as before 1918, 1933 and 1945. The power structures remained unchanged, only the forms of government were switched. With a reorganization of social conditions failing to materialize after 1945, and with the swiftly starting restoration of the imperialist system of government, it turned out that there are by no means few reactionary features of the past that are giving shape to the state and society in the FRG. This is most evident in the continuity of the state's power organs--the bureaucratic apparatus, the police, the legal system and, especially, the FRG army. Especially the early decision on remilitarizing the FRG led to a quick revival of militaristic traditions and characteristic features which go back directly to the Prusso-German past.

The Prussian state has been dead for more than three decades. Prussian spirit and Prussian traditions, however, have survived in that part of Germany where, unlike the territory of the GDR today, the evil has not been eradicated from its roots. The FRG's more than 30 years of history and its domestic and foreign policy visibly demonstrate that the Prusso-German passed, never coped with properly, is still fairly alive.

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CSO: 2300/291

NEW LAW ON RESIDENT REGISTRATION STIFFENS PENALTIES

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 111, 29 Jul 81 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Increases Fines for Violations of Compulsory Registration--Penalties for FRG Citizens Are Being Doubled." A translation of the East Berlin GESETZBLATT decree cited below follows this report]

[Text] The East Berlin Council of Ministers has drastically raised, partly, the fines for violations of compulsory registration. According to the new decree, that goes into effect on 1 September, a fine up to M 500 (thus far: M 300) can be levied on someone who fails to report an apartment move to the police or who, as owner or caretaker of a house, "neglects his duty to keep the house registration book." In addition to residents, GDR citizens who stay longer than 3 days with relatives or friends also have to enter their names in that kind of registration book. Persons entering the GDR, FRG citizens for example, have to register that way within 24 hours. Otherwise they incur a fine the upper limit of that has been doubled, to M 300. (GESETZBLATT, Part I, No 23, 1981)

Text of Law

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 23, 22 Jul 81 pp 281-287

[Official text of "Third Decree on Resident Registration in the German Democratic Republic--Registration Order--29 May 1981" signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, and Dickel, minister of the interior and chief of German People's Police. This decree, which explains the changes in registration procedures and requirements, is followed by the text of the entire new version of the law, incorporating these changes into the registration decrees of 1 July 1965 and 15 June 1972]

[Text] In amending the 15 July 1965 GDR registration decree--registration order--(MO) (GBL, Part II, No 109, p 761) in the version of figure 7 in appendix 1 of the adjustment decree of 13 June 1968 (GBL, Part II, No 62, p 363), and the second, 15 June 1972, GDR registration decree--registration order--(MO) (GBL, Part II, No 39, p 443), the following is decreed:

## Article 1

Article 2 section 1 figure 1 is amended to read as follows:

"1. Aliens who have diplomatic identification, consular identification or other identification documents issued by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs."

## Article 2

Article 3 section 3 is amended to read as follows:

"(3) Heads of communal accommodations in enterprises, universities, colleges, technical and engineering schools, and schools in enterprises and state institutions are authorized to register persons who stay in such accommodations, in conformity with articles 7 and 8."

## Article 3

Article 7 section 4 is amended to read as follows:

"(4) Persons obligated to register can, for reporting in or out, be represented by a member of their household, who must identify himself, or by the person who keeps the house registration record book."

## Article 4

In article 11 section 1 the last sentence is deleted.

## Article 5

(1) Article 14 section 3 is amended to read as follows:

"(3) Persons charged with keeping the house registration record book in terms of section 2 are entitled to have ~~deputies~~ keep the house registration record book and must submit their names to the competent registration bureau of the German People's Police or People's Police kreis precinct and exercise influence on the house registration record books being kept in proper order."

(2) In Article 14, the following section 4 is inserted:

"(4) When the obligation to keep the house registration record book is transferred to some other person, the book itself has to be handed over to such a person. If that is not possible, the house registration record book has to be handed over to the competent registration bureau of the German People's Police or the People's Police kreis precinct."

(3) In Article 14, the previous sections 4 to 9 now become sections 5 to 10.

## Article 6

(1) The heading of Article 16 is amended to read as follows:

" Staying in communal accommodations"

(2) Article 16 section 1 sentence 1 is amended to read as follows:

"For persons who have registered in accordance with article 7 and stay in communal accommodations of enterprises, universities, colleges, technical or engineering schools, and schools in enterprises and state institutions, up to one year, the heads in these communal accommodations have to register them in or out within 3 days."

(3) Article 16 section 2 is amended to read as follows:

"(2) If the stay extends above one year, the registration obligation falls under the regulations of articles 7 and 8. This registration can also be made, in accordance with article 3 section 3, by heads of communal accommodations."

## Article 7

(1) Article 17 section 1 sentence 2 is amended to read as follows:

"The registration forms, when filled in, must be checked for agreeing with the data in the personal identification card or a passport authorizing entry or residence, or other personal documents."

(2) Article 17 section 2 is amended to read as follows:

"(2) Aliens who have not yet been granted the right to stay in the GDR or who have no registration receipt or indication that they have registered from the protocol department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs must present their passports or other personal documents to the German People's Police when they present the registration form of the places in which they are accommodated."

(3) Article 17 section 2 is amended to read as follows:

"(3) The German People's Police must be informed immediately when the presentation of a passport or of other personal documents, or the filling out of the registration form, is refused."

(4) Article 17 section 6 sentence 3 is amended to read as follows:

"Aliens who have a document made out by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs must fill out registration forms of the places in which they are accommodated."



## Article 8

(1) In article 28 section 1 the last two lines are amended to read as follows:

" . . . may be given a warning or fined from M 10 to M 500."

(2) Article 28 section 2 is amended to read as follows:

"(2) He who deliberately avoids being entered or signed out in the house registration record book within the registration time frame may be warned or fined from M 10 to M 300."

(3) Article 28 section 4 is amended to read as follows:

"(4) In minor law violations in accordance with sections 1 and 2, the authorized members of the German People's Police, and in violations in accordance with article 23 section 1, also the authorized members of the local councils, have the right to issue warnings with fines from M 1 to M 20."

## Article 9

The Minister of the Interior and Chief of the German People's Police is authorized, on the basis of this decree, to promulgate a new version of the registration decree with its changes in designations in the GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK.

## Article 10

This decree goes into effect on 1 September 1981.

Decree on Resident Registration in the German Democratic Republic  
—Registration Order—(MO)—15 July 1965 (GBL, Part II, No 109,  
p 761) in the Version of the Second Decree of 15 June 1972 (GBL,  
Part II, No 39, p 443) and the Third Decree of 29 May 1981 (GBL,  
Part I, No 23, p 281)

The following is decreed on the reorganization of resident registration:

### I

#### General Provisions

#### Article 1 — The Range of the Registration Obligation

(1) Persons residing in the GDR have to be registered in accordance with the provisions of this decree.

(2) Housing management regulations are not affected by the fulfillment of the registration obligation. From the fulfillment of the registration obligation no claim can arise to be provided with housing.

(3) Housing in the meaning of this decree is any place used for dwelling or sleeping.

## Article 2 -- Exemption from Registration Obligation

### (1) Exempted from the registration obligation are:

1. Aliens who have diplomatic identification, consular identification or other identification documents issued by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs;

2. Aliens who show an indication in their passports that they have registered by the protocol department of the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

(2) The Minister of the Interior and Chief of the German People's Police can order other persons also to be exempted from the registration obligation.

(3) A boarding-school type residence in barracks and schools of the armed organs of the GDR is not subject to compulsory registration.

## Article 3 -- Persons Who Must Register

(1) Registration must be made in person unless deputation is authorized in line with the provisions in this decree.

(2) For children up to the completion of their 14th year of life, parents or guardians, for persons declared legally incompetent, their legal representatives have to fulfill the registration obligation. If such persons under registration obligation are not at the place where the registration has to be made, or if they are prevented from registering themselves, their landlord has to do so for them.

(3) Heads of communal accommodations in enterprises, universities, colleges, technical and engineering schools, and schools in enterprises and state institutions are authorized to register persons who stay in such accommodations, in conformity with articles 7 and 8.

(4) If the person authorized to deputize in accordance with the provisions in this decree cannot provide the information required for meeting the registration obligation, it may be demanded that documents be presented or that the person under registration obligation appear in person.

## Article 4 -- Meeting the Registration Obligation

(1) Registration must be made in the precincts of the German People's Police as referred to in this decree.

(2) The Minister of the Interior and Chief of the German People's Police can order the registration obligation to be met also in other official places.

## Article 5 -- Presenting Documents in Meeting the Registration Obligation

(1) In meeting the registration obligation, a personal identification card or a personal document authorizing entry or residence must be presented.

(2) If the fulfillment of the registration obligation is deputized to others, the documents for the persons under registration obligation as referred to in article 1 must be presented.

## Article 6 -- Receipting the Fulfillment of the Registration Obligation

The fulfillment of the registration obligation in accordance with articles 7, 8, 9 and 10 has to be receipted by the German People's Police in the personal identification card, the personal document authorizing entry or residence, or in a supplement to such documents or by some other receipt.

## II

### Reporting In and Out

#### Article 7 -- Primary Housing

- (1) When someone moves into an apartment, he has to register within 7 days at the German People's Police registration office or the People's Police kreis precinct in his place of residence.
- (2) Newly born need not be registered if after their birth they are accepted into their parents' apartment.
- (3) When someone moves out of an apartment, he has to report out at the German People's Police registration office or the People's Police kreis precinct at the latest on the day he moves while announcing his new apartment or future residence.
- (4) Persons obligated to register can, for reporting in or out, be represented by a member of their household, who must identify himself, or by the person who keeps the house registration record book.
- (5) When one moves within the area of a People's Police kreis precinct or the capital of the GDR, it is not necessary to report out.
- (6) The German People's Police must report persons out who have neglected their obligation to do so in accordance with section 3.

#### Article 8 -- Secondary Housing

- (1) Persons registered in accordance with article 7 who for reasons of vocational training, their occupation or their studies acquire secondary housing must register at the place of their secondary housing unless the provisions in accordance with article 16 apply.
- (2) Persons who are registered in accordance with article 7 and use a summer residence as secondary housing, must register at the place of their secondary housing. The summer residence rates as secondary housing if during the summer it replaces the primary housing as principal residence. In cases of doubt, the German People's Police will decide whether one must register in terms of this provision.
- (3) For moving into or out of secondary housing, the provisions of article 7 apply.

## Article 9 -- Visitors

- (1) Anyone registered in accordance with article 7 who visits relatives or friends for more than 30 days who do not put up guests in line with their business, must register his visit within these 30 days at the German People's Police registration office or, if there is no such registration office locally, with the Sector Agent of the German People's Police, and report out before he departs.
- (2) In reporting in and out, a visitor under such registration obligation may be represented by a person who must in turn identify himself.
- (3) If a visitor stays longer than 6 months, the registration obligation in accordance with article 7 applies. If housing is being kept, a special point of that has to be made in registering.

## Article 10 -- Registration Obligation for Persons Who Enter the GDR

- (1) Persons who enter the GDR and are not registered in accordance with article 7 must personally register with the People's Police kreis precinct at every place they stay within 24 hours and report out before they depart.
- (2) GDR citizens who have their permanent residence abroad and aliens not registered in accordance with article 7 have met their reporting in and out obligation when they report in at their first place of residence.
- (3) For persons entering the GDR on an invitation from state organs and institutions or social organizations, or as tourists, the registration obligation can be fulfilled by the state organ, institution or social organization inviting or taking care of them.
- (4) For persons staying in commercial or social places of accommodation (e.g. hotels, inns, tourist homes or guest houses) and at facilities of religious congregations, the registration obligation may be met by the manager of such places of accommodation.
- (5) If the visit lasts longer than 6 months, the registration obligation in accordance with article 7 applies.

## Article 11 -- Registration Obligation at the Time of Military Service

- (1) Persons summoned or enlisted in active military service or organs that make up for such active military service have to report out by showing their draft order, enlistment receipt and service certificate and report back in within 7 days after the end of their military service.
- (2) If at the time of reporting out for military service or during that service the premises of article 7 apply, the obligations resulting therefrom have to be met apart from reporting out for military service.



## Article 12 -- Registration Obligation for Inland Navigators

- (1) For inland navigators and the members of their household, who have no housing on land, the vessel rates as their housing.
- (2) For inland navigators and the members of their household who do have housing on land and are registered there in accordance with article 7, the vessel rates as secondary housing in accordance with article 8 section 1.
- (3) Inland navigators and the members of their household can meet their registration obligation also at the German People's Police registration office closest to their docks.

## III

### Special Registration Obligations

## Article 13 -- Secondary Registration Obligation

- (1) In addition to the persons under the obligation to report in and out, a secondary registration obligation exists for
  1. Proprietors, owners and caretakers of a house, for all residents of the house who have a lease;
  2. Landlords, for all persons who reside in or visit his place;
  3. Heads of communal accommodations, for the persons accommodated there.
- (2) A person under secondary registration obligation has to check, when time frames for registration have ended, whether there is a receipt from the German People's Police for the fulfillment of the registration obligation in accordance with article 6. When such a registration obligation has not been met, the competent office of the German People's Police has to be informed within 3 days.
- (3) A deputy can handle the secondary registration obligation if the person so obligated is prevented from doing so or cannot meet it personally because of the volume of his registration obligations.

### Keeping House Registration Record Books

## Article 14

- (1) House registration record books have to be kept for every apartment building or communal accommodations.
- (2) Keeping house registration record books is the duty of proprietors, owners or caretakers of apartment buildings. In communal accommodations, it is the duty of the manager of such accommodations. Through agreement with the housing community, a delegate named by it can also be charged with keeping the house registration record book.

(3) Persons charged with keeping the house registration record book in terms of section 2 are entitled to have deputies keep the house registration record book and must submit their names to the competent registration bureau of the German People's Police or People's Police kreis precinct and exercise influence on the house registration record books being kept in proper order.

(4) When the obligation to keep the house registration record book is transferred to some other person, the book itself has to be handed over to such a person. If that is not possible, the house registration record book has to be handed over to the competent registration bureau of the German People's Police or the People's Police kreis precinct.

(5) The chiefs of People's Police kreis precincts can arrange with local councils that in communities with fewer than 1,000 inhabitants a joint house registration record book is kept by the mayor or a person delegated by him for all or several apartment buildings.

(6) In communities other than the ones referred to under section 5, the chiefs or the People's Police kreis precincts may authorize the keeping of a joint house registration record book for several apartment buildings.

(7) As house registration record books only the printed forms are to be used that are published by the Ministry for the Interior. In communal accommodations a file may be kept in place of the house registration record book which has to include the same data as the house registration record book.

(8) The house registration record books have to be presented only, upon request, to the security organs and other authorized persons. Unauthorized persons are not entitled to receive information in the house registration record books. The German People's Police can confiscate house registration record books temporarily.

(9) The competent local councils are entitled to check that the house registration record books are properly kept and may temporarily confiscate them in concurrence with the chiefs of the People's Police kreis precincts.

(1) A loss of house registration record books must immediately be reported to the German People's Police.

#### Article 15

(1) In the house registration record book must be entered, by presenting the documents referred to in article 5:

1. Persons under registration obligation in accordance with articles 7 and 8, within 7 days;

2. Persons reported in accordance with article 7 who stay longer than 3 days with relatives or friends who are not commercially accommodating guests, or visit them, within the first 3 days of their visit;

3. Persons who have entered the GDR, within 24 hours.

- (2) The newly born likewise have to be entered in the house registration record book.
- (3) When one changes housing, the new address has to be entered in the house registration record book.
- (4) When a person has his name changed, his new name must be entered in the house registration record book.
- (5) The persons entered in the house registration record book have to confirm those entries by their signature.
- (6) Persons under the obligation to be entered in the house registration record book may let themselves be represented, for doing so, by their landlord.

#### Article 16 -- Staying in Communal Accommodations

- (1) For persons who have registered in accordance with article 7 and stay in communal accommodations of enterprises, universities, colleges, technical or engineering schools, and schools in enterprises and state institutions, up to one year, the heads in these communal accommodations have to register them in or out within 3 days. The heads of communal accommodations can appoint deputies for taking care of this registration obligation when they are busy or cannot take care of it personally because of the volume of registration obligations they have to handle.
- (2) If the stay extends above one year, the registration obligation falls under the regulations of articles 7 and 8. This registration can also be made, in accordance with article 3 section 3, by heads of communal accommodations.
- (3) The chiefs of the People's Police kreis precincts have to announce how, when and where registration has to be made at a German People's Police bureau.

#### Article 17 -- Staying at Lodgings

- (1) Managers or owners of enterprises that are commercial or social places of accommodation (e.g., hotels, inns, tourist homes or guest houses) and the managers of facilities of religious congregations are obligated to keep a guest record on the persons accommodated and report them to the German People's Police on the registration forms of their places of accommodation. The registration forms, when filled in, must be checked for agreeing with the data in the personal identification card or a passport authorizing entry or residence, or other personal documents. The report has to be made within 12 hours after the guest's arrival.
- (2) Aliens who have not yet been granted the right to stay in the GDR or who have no registration receipt or indication that they have registered from the protocol department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs must present their passports or other personal documents to the German People's Police when they present the registration form of the places in which they are accommodated.

(3) The German People's Police must be informed immediately when the presentation of a passport or of other personal documents, or the filling out of the registration form, is refused.

(4) Persons obligated to register can delegate the fulfillment of their registration obligation when they are too busy or cannot do so personally because of the volume of registration obligations they have to handle.

(5) The chiefs of the People's Police kreis precincts have to announce how, when and where registration has to be made at a German People's Police bureau.

(6) For aliens who have a diplomatic or consular identification document, made out by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs, no registration forms from their places of accommodation are required. All that is needed for such aliens is to be recorded in the guest registry. Aliens who have a document made out by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs must fill out registration forms of the places in which they are accommodated.

(7) Room referral directors are under registration obligation in accordance with sections 1 to 6 in providing private accommodations. The lessor of rooms has the duty to keep the guest registry.

(8) The chiefs of the People's Police kreis precincts may also extend the disposition of the registration obligation according to sections 1 to 6 to other persons who accommodate travelers or vacationers.

(9) If a visit exceeds 6 months, registration obligation according to articles 7 or 8 applies. If the previous apartment is kept, a special point has to be made of it when registering, in accordance with article 7.

#### Article 18 - Registration Form for Lodgings

(1) Registration forms for lodgings have to correspond to the model in the appendix.

(2) For every person a registration form has to be made out. For couples, a joint registration form suffices. Children below the age of 14 are to be entered by number on the registration form of the person they accompany.

(3) Persons accommodated have to sign the registration form personally and identify themselves by the document referred to in article 5. In the case of couples, the signature of one spouse suffices.

(4) For the accommodation of tourist groups the participants of which are registered in accordance with article 7 and are escorted by state organs, institutions or social organizations, it suffices that the head of the group makes out the registration form for himself and lists the other participants by number. The same entries have to be made in the guest registry.



#### Article 19 -- Guest Registry

(1) The guest registry is to be kept in the form of a book, notebook, ledger or file and has to supply the data called for in the registration form for lodgings (Appendix).

(2) The guest registry is to be presented for inspection to the security organs on their request. Entries have to go back 3 years.

#### Article 20 -- Staying in Vacation Homes and Youth Hostels

(1) Heads of vacation homes of the social organizations, state organs, institutions and enterprises and youth hostels and other accommodations serving tourism, sport and hiking, are under the obligation to keep a guest registry on all persons accommodated, in accordance with article 19 section 1. The same applies to the contractual partner of such facilities.

(2) In hikes by the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization it is sufficient for the pioneer leader to enter his personal data.

#### Article 21 -- Boarding Schools

The directors of the schools of parties and mass organizations must keep a registry on all boarding pupils, in accordance with article 19 section 1. Students that are non-boarding have to register in accordance with articles 7 or 8.

#### Article 22 -- Staying at Public Health Facilities

(1) Heads of public health institutions must keep a registry on all persons staying in them such as explained in article 19 section 1.

(2) Persons above 14 years of age who have no valid personal identification card of the GDR must immediately be reported to the German People's Police.

(3) Heads of public health institutions can have deputies take care of their registration obligation if they are too busy or cannot take care of it personally because of the volume of registration obligations they have to handle.

#### Article 23 -- Staying on Camping Grounds

(1) Persons coming to stay at camping grounds have to report at once, at the latest before noon of the day subsequent to the day of their arrival, to the person put in charge of the camping ground by the competent local state organ. Some other person, who must identify himself, can take care of this registration obligation for them. The competent local state organs have to make sure that the registration can be made on the camping ground or near-by.

(2) The local state organs in charge of the camping grounds have to keep a guest registry in accordance with article 19 section 1, into which are entered all persons under registration obligation as per section 1 who stay on these grounds in tents, motor vehicles, trailers or other accommodations.

#### Article 24 -- Registration Obligation for Persons Who Move in Vans From Place to Place

- (1) Persons who move from place to place, in circus enterprises, or persons and their employees traveling by van in their line of business, must immediately, no later than at noon on the day subsequent to their arrival, report to the registration bureau of the German People's Police in charge at their place of stay. The registration form calls for the data required for lodgings (Appendix). The next place they intend to visit must then also be announced.
- (2) If there is no local registration bureau of the German People's Police, one must register with the Sector Agent of the German People's Police.
- (3) The registration obligation as per section 1 can also be carried out by a member of the household, properly identifying himself, or by the head or owner of an enterprise or establishment, for the persons employed by him.
- (4) Irrespective of the registration obligation called for in section 1, the persons must be registered in accordance with articles 7 and 10.

#### IV

#### Transfer of Control Authorizations for Abiding by Registration Provisions

#### Article 25 -- Rights of Delegates of Housing Communities

Housing community delegates are entitled:

1. to inspect the house registration control books in the apartment buildings belonging to their housing community;
2. to exercise control over the fulfillment of the registration obligation and inspect the German People's Police receipts, as per article 6, on the fulfillment of the registration obligation;
3. to ask persons who have failed to register to do so at once;
4. to procure information from the competent registration bureaus of the German People's Police on the status of the registration obligation of the persons who reside or stay in the apartment building.

#### Article 26 -- Controls by Authorized Persons

- (1) The chiefs of the People's Police kreis precincts are entitled to authorize persons to ask to be shown the house registration record book in supervising an orderly handling of the registration obligation.
- (2) The authorization must be made out in writing and be shown before the house registration record book is presented for inspection.

## Measures in the Case of Infringements of the Registration Order

### Article 27 -- Arrests

The German People's Police may arrest persons who have failed to take care of their registration after being asked to do so in writing as per articles 7, 8, 9, 10, 23 and 24.

### Article 28 -- Penalty Provisions

#### (1) Someone who deliberately or negligently

1. fails to comply with his duty to reporting in or out as per article 7 sections 1 or 3, article 8, article 9 section 1, article 10 section 1, article 16 section 1, article 23 section 1 and article 24 section 1,

2. as a proprietor, owner or caretaker of a house or as head of communal accommodations fails in his duty to keep a house registration record book or fails to report the loss of a house registration record book to the German People's Police,

3. as the manager or owner of enterprises serving commercial or social accommodation, as room referral director or a private lessor of rooms, or as head of facilities of religious congregations

(a) keeps no guest registry or does not enter persons accommodated in the guest registry, though he is committed to keeping such a guest registry,

(b) fails to submit to the German People's Police the registration forms of lodgings within the time frame set down after the arrival of the guest,

(c) fails to inform the German People's Police immediately about facts as per article 12 section 3,

may be given a warning or fined from M 10 to M 500.

(2) He who deliberately avoids being entered or signed out in the house registration record book within the registration time frame may be warned or fined from M 10 to M 300.

(3) The administration of the penalty procedure is incumbent on the chiefs of the German People's Police bureaus.

(4) In minor law violations in accordance with sections 1 and 2, the authorized members of the German People's Police, and in violations in accordance with article 23 section 1, also the authorized members of the local councils, have the right to issue warnings with fines from M 1 to M 20.

(5) In the administration of the penalty procedure and the levying of penalties, the 12 January 1968 law on fighting against law violations--WG-- applies (GBL, No 3, p 101).

# VI

## Final Provisions

### Article 29 -- Reducing Registration Time Frames and Setting Down Other Measures

When required for the maintenance of public order and security, the Minister of the Interior and Chief of the German People's Police may

1. reduce the registration time frames for certain regions, kreises or communities;
2. make the signing out in certain areas by the police or the signing in at such areas by the police dependent on a special authorization.

### Article 30 -- Implementation Regulations

Implementation regulations are issued by the Minister of the Interior and Chief of the German People's Police.

### Appendix to the Present Decree

Day of arrival	REGISTRATION FORM FOR LODGINGS Lodging:	Room No.
Day of departure		

Name (also maiden name)	First name	Occupation
Date of birth	Place of birth	Kreis
		Family status
Citizenship	Place of residence, Kreis, Street No.	Country (if foreign)
Personal identification/Passport No.	Place of issue	Date of issue
Given name of accompanying spouse	First name	Date of birth
Place of birth	Kreis	Citizenship
Personal identification/Passport No.	Place of issue	Date of issue
Number of accompanying children: _____	Signature _____	

Data in the registration form can also be printed in Russian, English and French

5885  
CSO: 2300/293



TRAINING FOR AIR DEFENSE RADAR PERSONNEL DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1981 signed to press 14 May 81 pp 175-176

["MT introduces" feature: "Franz Mehring Officers' College of the Air Force/Air Defense Command, Radar Technical Department"]

[Text] The radar technical troops are a branch of the service within the armed forces section air force/air defense of our National People's Army, which is responsible for assuring radar control of combat actions involving all service branches of its armed forces section. Members of the radar technical troops solve this problem in close cooperation with their Soviet comrades-in-arms. In small collectives they perform a very important job. They continually observe the air space over our GDR, register all moving flying objects on their viewing screens and identify them. They are rightfully called the "watchful eyes" of the air defense of our country and the other socialist countries. For this responsible mission the radar technical troops were equipped with the most up-to-date radar stations and with automated directional and guidance systems.

The radar technical troop section of the Franz Mehring Officers' College is responsible for the training and further development of officer cadre, who receive solid political and specialized knowledge in the instruction areas "officer for panoramic radar stations and altimeter" and "officer for automated directional systems." Together with their collectives, our graduates are able to locate and continually follow or convey and process all necessary data for flying objects within the covered area. They can also describe the aerial position for timely and effective action by fighter pilot forces and antiaircraft rocket troops. They work at the control levels leader or station engineer in a radar technical company. Thus they begin their careers as officers at a radar station or automated directional and guidance system.

Solving the problems in an on duty air force/air defense system requires more from an officer than just mastery of combat technology. To be station leader at a radar station or officer at an automated directional system is inseparably associated with the recognition of his responsibility for the protection of our air space. It includes constant striving for political and military mastery and requires great mental and physical endurance. Therefore, training in politically responsible thinking and action is the center of the entire training program of our section.

Consequently, only he can become an officer of the radar technical troops who:

--equipped with an extensive and practical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism instructs the soldiers and noncommissioned officers of his crew in being class-conscious, resolute fighters in the defense of the socialist fatherland,

--is able to use his military, military tactical and technical knowledge and ability to operate, most favorably utilize and maintain the most up-to-date radar and automation technology under all combat conditions,

--based on his political, educational and psychological knowledge and ability knows how to develop, shape and lead combat collectives as commander under all combat situations.

That also shows clearly that during the 3-year instruction period both officer candidates and instructors must live up to high standards.

Requirements for the acceptance of students in the department for radar technical troops are a secondary school diploma and completion of professional training in the area electrical engineering/electronics. Candidates having completed study at an all-round poly-technical secondary school with a corresponding certificate as specialist are brought up to the university level in a 1-year course of instruction.

As preparation for his troop service the officer candidate receives extensive instruction in the social sciences and military sciences (tactics, gunnery and defensive training). He also receives instruction in mathematics and natural sciences, technical principles, languages and sports in accordance with his specific military activity.

The teaching staff of the radar technical troops department gives the officer candidates the special knowledge of a tactical and technical nature necessary for their later mission, with emphasis on the second and third year of instruction. The line of training "principles of radio location" deals with the various procedures for locating flying objects [missiles], and with the construction, working principles and the general cooperation of radar stations. The same applies to the line of training "principles of automation and arithmetical technology" with reference to automated directional and guidance systems. In the subject "tactics of radar technical troops" the officer candidates learn the most appropriate forms and methods of combat service, in order to be able to prepare and lead actions by their units.

Instrument theory provides them the required knowledge of the construction, the interplay of components and phases, and the physical mode of operation of the controls of a radar station or automated directional and guidance system, where they begin their work as officers in the troop. In the line of training "engineering technical control" the officer candidate acquires the needed skills in the operation, maintenance and repair of radar stations or automated directional and guidance systems.

Knowledge and ability in all tasks for future officers of radar stations and automated directional systems is imparted in the area of training "combat service."

Here the future officers acquire the skills to command as commanding officers of their station crews during reconnaissance of air space and to establish radar control during combat operations by fighter pilot forces and antiaircraft rocket troops. They learn and practice the proper use of the working systems of their combat technology, in order to be able to solve every combat problem under all conditions and to make the right decisions in the given aerial situation. This line of instruction also prepares them to train their noncommissioned officers and soldiers.

Training in the radar technical troops department takes place under the direction of qualified officers with experience in troop service. The department has an up-to-date training base with extensive teaching and classroom materials. It was created in a common effort by officer instructors and officer candidates. Numerous suggestions for innovations and rationalization went into it, and it is constantly being modernized and improved in accordance with growing requirements.

Most of the officer candidates take part in military science circles under the supervision of officer instructors. Here they examine independently selected subjects from tactics, combat action and engineering technical control. There are numerous opportunities for the officer candidates to practice useful operational sequences with combat equipment and in training areas. They use the aerial position simulators especially intensively, and they acquire further skills and abilities in judging the aerial situation and making decisions.

Summarizing I can say that during a three-year course of study the graduates of the radar technical troops department are taught and trained by the faculty officers in cooperation with the officers of the training companies, the immediate superiors of the officer candidates, to be well-trained military cadre and specialists in their wing section. That is verified by the progress of many former officer candidates of our department in the units and formations of the radar technical troops.

9746

CSO: 2300/276

NEW MOBILE WORKSHOP FOR CHEMICAL FORCES DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1981 (signed to press 14 May 81)  
pp 218-219

[Article by P. Kunkel, engineer: "Combined Radiological-Chemical Workshop Supports Troop Maintenance"]

[Text] The combined radiological-chemical workshop (KRCW) created a modern basis for the fulfillment of the increased demands, under combat conditions, on troop maintenance of special Ch technology, devices and agents of the Chemical Forces.

The KRCW can be deployed as a complex. It is operated by 22 men. Along with the development of the KRCW, various new types of equipment have come into existence. These elements can also be used in permanent maintenance installations.

1. Structure and Purpose

The KRCW has its own energy supply and a synchronized assortment of testing devices, tools, spare parts and maintenance materials. The easily manageable coffers (LAK II) are very useful. All pieces of equipment are arranged in order, clearly visible and easily accessible. The KRCW consists of 3 modified coffers (see Table 1). They are made of unsaturated polyester reinforced with fiberglass. They are divided into four 10 mm ring-shaped segments which are connected with each other and are attached to the frontwalls. The segments are strengthened with C-shaped bands. These consist of noncorrosive aluminum. Pieces of equipment, such as workshop furniture, tables, cabinets, separating walls etc. are attached to the bands. Doors and windows have been constructed in such a way that the inside of the coffers can be hermetically sealed.

The coffer floor consists of a wooden floor with a glued-on floor cover. Individual parts can be removed. At the lowest point of the coffer floor, a short feed pipe was installed, through which water or other fluids can be drained. In addition, there is a sucking device with which all fluids can be removed from the coffer floor.

The three workshop types are: the workshop for EC-clearing devices (WECA), the workshop for protective equipment (WPSA), and the workshop for special Ch technology (WPST) with Ch spare part storage.



The workshops can also be used as permanent maintenance bases. For this purpose, the coffer structures must be removed from the transport vehicles with proper means (those used for container vehicles), with the help of cranes. It is planned to introduce a separate releasing gear for the LAK II.

Each coffer is equipped with an FWUA-100 N-24 filter ventilation device. It is operated and monitored from inside the coffer.

Every workshop has a 4-kVA electric generator set. But the power can also be generated by a 20-kVA electric generator, i.e. it can be taken from the local power supply. In this case it is advantageous to connect the coffers of all workshops with each other with the appropriate cables, because the entire energy consumption can be covered by the 20-kVA generator, i.e. the local power supply.

The 4-kVA generator should, if possible, be operated outside of the coffer because vibrations and noise would interfere with the sensitive measuring and testing equipment, i.e. the maintenance process.

The difference in basic equipment can be seen in Table 2.

## 2. Advantages of Mobile Coffers Structures

Mobile coffer structures for mobile chemical workshops have proven themselves useful in practice. They have a number of advantages over the older type, permanently mounted structures. The following examples are to show this: when the carrier vehicle requires maintenance, the coffer can remain with the unit and can be used temporarily for maintenance under stationary conditions. The opposite is true for maintenance of the LAK II. The carrier vehicle can then be equipped with a replacement coffer, assuring continuous maintenance of special Ch technology under combat conditions.

The coffer's outer casing, consisting of unsaturated, fiberglass-reinforced polyester, lends great durability to the LAK II. Compared with past coffers, maintenance costs, above all, have been reduced. In addition, there is practically no corrosion with fiberglass-reinforced plastic.

## 3. Different Uses of LAK II

### Workshop for KC Cleanup Devices (WKCA)

The individual WKCA can also be used as part of the combined radiological-chemical workshop (KRCW). It offers room for 5 men inside, and for 2 men in the attached tent. Work done in the coffer consists primarily of measuring, testing and maintenance work on chemical clean-up devices, on nuclear measuring the electronic components and installations of CH special technology, as well as mechanical work.

### Workshop for Protective Equipment (WPSA)

This workshop also is manned by 5 in the coffer and 2 in the attached tent. In the coffer, mostly the repair of protective masks, sewing, scanning and adhesion work are carried out. In addition to personal protective equipment, devices for special treatment, as well as canvas, bags and other equipment can be repaired.

## Workshop for Ch Special Technology (WPsT)

The WSpT can also be used as individual workshop or in connection with the Ch replacement part storage, or as part of the KRCW complex. Spare parts necessary for maintenance must be entered centrally when used as individual workshop. The coffer has room for three men.

In the WSpT, working parts can be rotated, drilled or milled. There is also equipment for welding, cutting and solder'ng.

Ch special technology is maintained primarily out in the open. The dismantling or mounting of individual components can also occur in the attached tent. After maintenance and appropriate cleaning, it is possible to touch up the paint with a paint gun provided for this purpose.

## Ch Spare Parts Storage

The Ch spare parts storage consists of a wagon with trailer and supplies the individual workshops and the KRCW with spare parts and maintenance materials. It requires one man for operation. The attached tent can be used for interim storage while loading and unloading.

## 4. Variations in Use

Different variations are possible for troop maintenance, thus increasing maintenance capacity. They can consist of several workshop complexes, individual workshops of one kind, or a combination of individual workshops with the Ch spare parts storage.

Figure 1 shows a standard variation for the deployment of the KRCW. It represents a nearly total ideal variation for organized technological maintenance. Should such a variation not be possible under combat conditions, a variation which assures maximal performance must be attempted.

The modern equipment of the combined radiological-chemical workshop, the greatest variations in maintenance work, but also the technology and equipment of the chemical forces, which are more complex to maintain, require qualitatively higher standards from maintenance personnel. These increased requirements must always be taken into consideration during training.

Table 1--Coffer Structures and Carrier Vehicles

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Coffer Structure</u>	<u>Carrier Vehicle</u>
Workshop for KC-clearing devices (WKCA)	LAK II A 1	W 50 LA/A/C
Workshop for protective equipment (WPSA)	LAK II A 1	W 50 LA/A/C
Workshop for Ch special technology (WPsT)	LAK II A 1	URAL 375 D/C/K
20-kVA electric generator type 662 6376/104	-	1-axle trailer, type Fl 51
Ch spare parts storage:		
Storage truck	LAK II C 1	W 50 La/A/C
Storage trailer	LAK II C 2	2-axle trailer type HL 50.78 T 15

Table 2--Basic Equipment of the KRCW

Designation	WKCA	WPSA	WSpT	Ch Spare Parts Storage	
				Truck	Trailer
4-kVA electric generator 220/380 V Type 6-B316 with release gear	1	1	1	-	-
Filter ventilation FWUA-100 N-24	1	1	1	1	1
Heating and ventilation system Type 255.10	1	1	1	1	1
Attached tent	1	1	1	1	1
Portable outdoor oil heater Type 266.03	1	1	1	1	-
Folding chair for transport of 1 man during travel	1	1	1	1*	-

\*Can be moved to trailer

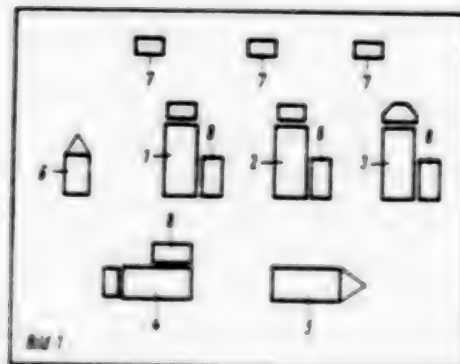


Fig 1--Variation of the KRCW

Key:

1. Workshop for KC-clearing devices
2. Workshop for protective equipment
3. Workshop for Ch special technology
- 4.+ 5. Ch spare parts storage
6. 20-kVA Diesel electric generator
7. 4-kVA electric generator (portable)
8. attached tent

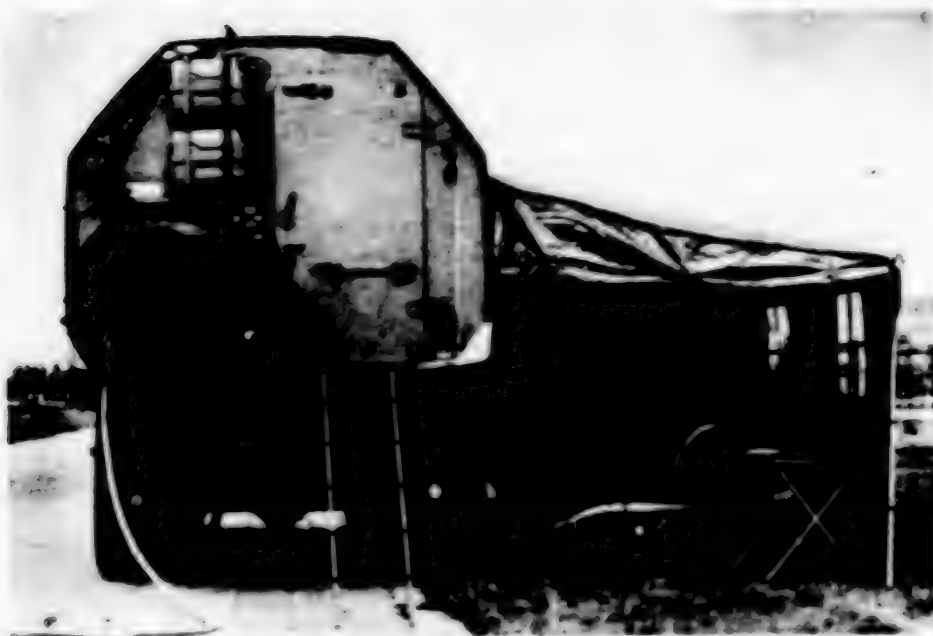


Fig 2--Workshop for KC-Clearing Devices With Attached Tent, Two Folded Down Job Sites and Portable Outdoor Oilheater

9328

CSO: 2300/275



# MINISTER DISCUSSES STATE OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Aug 81 p 5

[Interview with Dr Lajos Denes, deputy minister of agriculture and food industry, by Ivan Gador: "Theory and Identification"]

[Text] Dr Lajos Denes was born in Oroshaza in 1927. After completing the University of Veterinarian Science in 1960, he worked in that field as practitioner, then in 1965 he became a staff member of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry [MEM]. In the meanwhile he earned a specialty diploma in agricultural engineering and also graduated from the MSZMP's Political College. He has been deputy minister since 1978; he is in charge of trade education, research, animal health care and crop protection.

The significance of higher education in agriculture can hardly be questioned, since the more and more specialized technologies of Hungarian agriculture increasingly require highly trained experts. The six universities under the MEM's control, and the six college departments of the universities, plus the three independent colleges each year graduate more than 1,700 students in the daytime programs alone. Another 3,200 professionals earn their diplomas each year in the evening and correspondence programs, and by working as special engineers. This sizeable organization has undergone a number of changes recently; the decentralization of earlier years was followed by centralization. Of course, simultaneously with the organizational changes a number of changes in contents were also necessary. Our reporter Ivan Gador talked about this with Dr Lajos Denes, deputy minister of the MEM.

[Question] Why did the structure of agricultural higher education have to be changed twice in just a few years?

[Answer] Because we had to admit: good intentions alone are not enough. In earlier years the extensive process of decentralization took place practically spontaneously, and was greatly helped by the fact that the managements of a number of cities and smaller cities felt that in order to perk up intellectual life, it is indispensably necessary for the community to have an institution of higher education. One can hardly argue with this point of view. However, it is a fact that meritorious research work cannot develop without the proper intellectual background, just be repainting the sign on the front of the building. Unfortunately, little

else happened at most of the institutions of higher learning springing up all over the place like wild mushrooms, a few years ago since the teaching staff did not change at all, or only minor changes took place. There were some notable exceptions, but here--I am referring to the College of Veterinarian Sciences--which has an internationally recognized tradition of over 150 years supporting it.

[Question] These reasons seem so logical that one finds it hard to understand why they were ignored in the past?

[Answer] As I said before, basically this process was kept moving by good intentions. And, of course, there were also some positive aspects to consider. The college staff organized in Kormend, for example, attracted the area's young people. Since this higher school faculty was eliminated, we find it practically impossible to find students from that area, especially for schools in more distant parts of the country. Even though we made it possible after the mergers for several higher educational institutions to enroll students from the entire country, most of them are unable to take advantage of this opportunity. One example for this is that we are unable to enroll students from, let's say, Eastern Hungary, for Kaposvar where animal stock raising is taught at a very high level. The situation is the same in Sopron with the Forestry and Lumber Industry University, where there are hardly any students from Eastern Hungary.

[Question] Perhaps one reason for this is that there are very limited traditions of forestry management in the Lowlands.

[Answer] The forester is not a mountainist [sic]! I know that there is such a prejudice as you mentioned it, but let us finally acknowledge that a number of producer cooperatives and state farms operating in the Lowlands which manage forests, but whose primary activity is in the lumber industry. If there is any place where forestry management can and must be improved, then that place is precisely the Lowlands. And this requires professionals. People with a sense of obligation, who were born there and who will return to their native lands after graduating from the university. Of course, this is valid not only for forestry but also for all agricultural branches without exception.

[Question] I am told with regard to college dormitory spaces, the agricultural higher education is doing pretty well. Perhaps more effective [recruiting] propaganda would help?

[Answer] Naturally propaganda is necessary, but unfortunately we cannot expect it to provide the solution because the reasons for this situation must be sought much deeper than from a few printed propaganda items or even a well-made film could change. There are agricultural universities in practically all regions of the country. Debrecen, Godollo, Keszthely, and Mosonmagyaróvár, just to mention the four major university centers. We can provide good quality dormitory spaces for 70 percent of the students, and the institution even takes care of those who per chance could not get into the dormitories: they have a number of sublet apartments where they can place 3 or 4 students per apartment. Thus even this is no more expensive than the dormitory. I hardly consider it a tragedy for a child to be taken out of the family nest at the age of 18 or 19 years for 3 to 5 years, to join a community and learn some independence. I also do not think that this would place significantly greater financial burdens on the family than if the child were living at home during these years. And yet: most families choose the college or university the child should attend on the basis of proximity and whether he can commute.

[Question] So you also share the opinion that the family, and not the child, makes the career decision. Why is this so?

[Answer] Because it can be no other way in our present school system and enrollment system. That is, the child would actually have to decide at the age of 13, in seventh grade, what career he chooses. What an impossibility! Because it is not immaterial what kind of specialized secondary school he attends, since if he decides on the college or university of another area after high school graduation, he will start out with a big disadvantage in comparison with those who attended the specialized high school corresponding to the professional discipline. This is why most parents--at least the ones with foresight--try to send their children to general high schools. The time for decision can be postponed by this. To gain time!--this can be the only realistic goal. Because up to this day the convertible [highschool] diploma can be obtained only in a general high school. But most children are not given this opportunity. They attend a specialized high school, then an institution of higher learning corresponding to the area of specialization. And for many of them--for too many of them--the consequences are tragic. Perhaps what I say appears to be an exaggeration. But selecting the wrong career is the source of psychological and intellectual dissatisfaction, and of personality problems. I am not stating by this that most people finally do not find their places in society. But they pay a great price for it, too great a price. It is obvious that we have to modify the enrollment system.

[Question] What kind of modifications are you thinking of?

[Answer] We should concentrate much more on the basic subjects, on providing the students with significantly broader general education at the secondary school level. This way the acceptance committees could evaluate the level of general knowledge.

[Question] On this basis it can hardly be decided who is suitable to become an architect, and who for agricultural engineer.

[Answer] I know of no method by which this could be decided about an 18-year-old man within the framework of any entrance examination. Two theories have been in conflict with each other on this question for a long time. According to one of these theories almost no profession is taught during the entire time of university training, only general knowledge is disseminated at a higher level. In contrast with this, believers of the other theory would like to teach specialized professional information almost exclusively. We--since we are a small country--need people with flexible professional knowledge, thus we have to find our way somewhere between the two paths. General topics should be taught in the first 2 or 3 years at the university, and by then it can be decided which professional direction really suits which child. I also would not consider it a tragedy after 2 or 3 years the student transferred to another institution of higher learning because he discovered that he could not identify with the university's professional areas. Why should we be afraid of losing perhaps a year or two in this manner, when the alternative is perhaps 5 suffering years study, and then a dissatisfied life.

[Question] Of course, the question is whether the present educational capacity would be sufficient to do this?

[Answer] This is a false problem. If we made acceptance into the colleges and universities easier, if we accepted 20 or 30, perhaps 50 percent more students than we do today, then we would have an excellent opportunity for weeding some of them out after the first years, and even for changing careers if it became necessary. If this would open up the opportunity for good selection, we could even set higher and more differentiated requirements during the training. And while the young people were gaining high quality general education, they would be guaranteed of earning their diplomas to practice in a professional field to which they were suited, and with which they could identify.

[Question] Even today higher education is often accused of being too highly theoretical, and that the young diploma holder are unable to adjust to business life because they lack practical experience. Aren't you afraid that these complaints would be even more justified in the system outlined here?

[Answer] A basic distinction must be made between training a plant engineer in a college, and training engineers in universities. Naturally the plant engineers must primarily be taught practical information, trade, management know-how, since they will be the first-line leaders in the agricultural operations. But a different thing is involved at the universities. The entire future life and work of an agricultural engineer is determined by the depth of biological, life science, genetic, and last but not least, by the language knowledge he acquires. Because, if you like, this is the sole of the shoe onto which the upper part will be sewn later, with the acquisition of practical information. And it will be the upper part he needs for his work. Of course, in no case must it be expected of a fresh graduate to replace the experienced, older professional after only a few weeks on his new job. The apprentice system which has great traditions in agriculture should be revived on a high level.

8584

CSO: 2500/334



## OFFICIALS DISCUSS CRIME, POLICE ACTIONS

## Comments of Justice Official

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 3 Jun 81 p 3

[Interview with Docent Dr Habilitatus Adam Strzembosz of the Institute for the Study of Judiciary Law, Ministry of Justice, by Elzbieta Otefinowska: "Perhaps the Militia Is Working More Effectively"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] We are confronted with two sets of papers: one containing alarming information concerning a 26-percent increase in crime this year, issuing from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the General Public Prosecutor's Office as presented to the members of the Sejm; another containing a declaration by lawyers--and undersigned by 125 persons--questioning the reliability of the information given in the press on this subject. And still another text: the proceedings from a Sejm meeting of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice. The delegates have judged us journalists severely. They criticize us for our failure to make a clear presentation of the problems of crime. They say that we leave them hanging in midair.

Thus, I was all the more eager to have the scholar, Docent Dr Habilitatus Adam Strzembosz of the Institute for the Study of Judiciary Law from the Ministry of Justice, grant us an interview to explain this discrepancy in the evaluation of the situation from his point of view.

[Question] Docent, as you read the press, listen to the radio and watch television, do you feel threatened by crime?

[Answer] I would feel threatened if I were not a criminologist who, by virtue of his profession, must know how to make use of statistics and must also know the machinery behind the making of police reports. It is a fact that selective information, the generalization of individual matters and the repetition of this subject all create a climate in which something of late seems suddenly to have happened to cause a manifold increase in the number of murderers, robbers and the worst kinds of scum of society. I do not contend that there has been no increase in criminality in certain categories of crime or that this phenomenon should be ignored. However, this is something incredible in all of these alarms.

[Question] Namely, what?

[Answer] Their tone: the random nature of data, the superficiality of evaluations and the sensitizing of people to danger, in a word: the way the issue is presented. You know if the number of criminal offenses increased 26 percent this year over the same period last year, that this is an important sign. But a year ago when the statistics showed an increase of murders alone by 27 percent in comparison with the first half of 1979, no one sent out an alarm because of this. It was evident that no one cared about it. But today, when the general data are given it is not stated that the number of murders for the period under consideration has decreased, although an honest evaluation of the situation should also present the positive facts. Likewise, the fact that a decrease of 16 percent has occurred in the number of inquiries held in conjunction with active assaults against public officials has been passed over. And these data are basic. They prove that the aggressive attitude of society toward the police has not at all intensified, as may seem to be the case in the light of official statements. Lawyers know these data. Thus their conviction that the statistics on inquiries may be used in whatever way one may wish, to serve one's immediate ends.

I do not mean to say by this that the situation has not become worse in any category of crime. I would even be surprised if this were the case. Every crisis--and our present crisis began before this year--must engender such a phenomenon. On the other hand, I would like to persuade you of the fact that the matter of crime is too important and too complex for one to throw out alarming statements without examining all of the elements of the phenomenon, without a factual, responsible commentary upon what is happening in this sphere.

[Question] And what else is happening that must be mentioned in conjunction with the publication of an increase in the general number of offenses?

[Answer] The type of offenses must be characterized honestly and the social background of the new manifestations of these phenomena must be carefully analyzed.

For example, it may become evident that, given our new sociopolitical situation today, MO [Citizens' Militia] functionaries, aware of the increased possibilities that their work will be checked, work better than formerly. Perhaps their more intensive efforts enable them to detect a greater number of crimes. Perhaps they have departed from the practice of not accepting reports of "uncomfortable" crimes.

[Question] Pardon me, what kinds of crimes?

[Answer] Crimes where we may anticipate that the perpetrator will be really difficult to find, e.g., a pickpocket.

In the past, reports of such crimes went unrecorded. A case which does not conclude with the determination of the perpetrator of the deed encumbers the detection statistics and, in turn, the measure of evaluating the police. Thus, in many instances, it is explained to the owner of a cellar which has been robbed that the MO handles thefts committed from the first floor up, or he is clearly given to understand that the report will be accepted if the victim of the crime will eventually be able to identify the perpetrator.

If the police today do not so often refuse to accept difficult cases, then this makes the statistics look worse, even though the situation is not at all the worse from the point of view of society. It is also possible that, at present, more law-abiding methods are used to reach the truth. If, in the past, there were instances of beatings of suspects for the purpose of coercing them to admit their guilt, and today such practices are frowned upon, then, in spite of this, the decrease in detection due to this reason would again be a positive phenomenon from the societal viewpoint. As far as I know, such broad analyses of the problem have not been made.

[Question] Docent, your conception is based on the optimistic premise that the police are using more law-abiding methods.

[Answer] Because there are grounds for such an idea. The police feel that they are beginning to be supervised, that they are beginning to be subject to the workings of the law. Such an awareness brings about the limitation of reprehensible attitudes. As you know, citizens today who have the support of new mass social organizations, especially "Solidarity," feel more sure of themselves in the attainment of their rights. They confront MO functionaries with the demand that the MO operate within the framework of finding principles and that they meet their obligations with regard to society.

[Question] Docent, as I listen to you I still have mixed feelings. While I am clearly interested that no policeman should fail to consider that he should never violate the rights of any citizen, if however, under the influence of psychological pressure or out of fear of eventual reproach for the violation of these basic principles, he refuses to use brutality where necessary to capture a bandit, then I as a citizen do not feel at all secure. On the contrary, I feel threatened, if only from one side.

[Answer] Clearly, force used against criminals cannot be eliminated. And society, convinced that the MO respects law-abiding methods of acting, will not blame the MO for using severe measures sometimes when unavoidable. The criminal world is not always receptive to the use of persuasion. However, the fact of the matter is that this should occur within certain ramifications and it should have its limits which may not be exceeded. And it should be clearly stated, for example, with absolute certainty that the usurpation by the prosecuting apparatus of the right to mete out punishment is only a step in the direction of impunity. And such practices have been observed. I have encountered them personally.

Once I called a policeman over to a drunk who was creating a scene. At first he reacted appropriately, sharply lecturing the man and warning him. Then, when the facts were determined, he very unceremoniously asked the man being held: "Well, which will it be, the banana [billy club] or the college [hearing before one's peers]?"

"The banana!" said the drunk. "But only once, Officer."

And perhaps this was a less painful punishment for the hooligan, but such a practice is dangerous when those who do not have a calling to the meting out of justice are in this position. Society does not approve such practices, nor do these practices create the proper foundation for building confidence in the prosecuting apparatus. Such trust is indispensable for the suppression of crime.

[Question] Docent, as a criminologist, what are the tasks that you deem indispensable for the attainment of this goal?

[Answer] A whole array of tasks if necessary. Together they must establish the conviction among the people that the law is the law, always and for all people. They must inculcate the idea that those who are called to protect society against lawlessness themselves likewise act according to obligatory rules and prohibitions. And something else: the implementation of these tasks must bring about a situation in which behavior which is out of line with the law will universally be taken as blameworthy and deserving of censure because it is not in accordance with obligatory legal standards and...with the conscience of man. Then, it will not be necessary to place a guardian of public order behind every citizen as some would like. But here I would also like to express the conviction that our society as a whole has shown proof of its exceptional self-control. Throughout all of the troubles which have fallen upon us, despite empty stores and long lines even though rationing cards have been introduced, despite the price increases which have, in fact, come about and the resultant reduction in the living standard, not to speak of continuing political pressures, we have maintained peace and equilibrium.

[Question] In concluding our conversation I would like to ask you a personal question. You are a lawyer. You know the contents of the lawyers' statement. Would you sign their statement?

[Answer] I already have.

#### Comments of Defense Official

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 19-21 Jun 81 p 6

[Interview with Col Dr A. Slowik, deputy director of the MO Criminal Bureau Main Command, by Wlodzislaw Slowinski: "Are They Our Whipping Boys?"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Some say that the number of crimes has suddenly increased of late, while others hold that the increase is the result of the manipulation of statistics and propaganda. Some consider the MO [Citizens' Militia] to be immune, while others feel that their job was never so difficult as it is now. We are speaking about these issues with the deputy director of the MO Criminal Bureau's Main Command, Col Dr A. Slowik.

[Question] What is your estimation of the value of the propaganda campaigns in the press and on radio and television disseminating the information that crime is on the upsurge at nearly a daily rate, and we find ourselves in the very eye of a hurricane. The provocation of such stresses and fears among society, which has reasons to feel threatened in other ways, is dismaying. Both as an ordinary television viewer and as an expert who knows what underlies these matters, what is your opinion of these things?

[Answer] Can this be called a propaganda campaign? In actuality, for a certain period of time several publications have appeared which present the current state of criminal offensiveness. On the other hand, there are published items, such as the one entitled "Perhaps the Militia is Working More Effectively" (KURIER POLSKI, No 108) in which the subject of your interview places particular stress on the fact



that there is a specific tone associated with the threatening state. We have thrust upon us the presentation of randomly selected data and superficial evaluations as well as an increasingly dangerous situation. Then again, other publications, except for printing dozens of captions and slogans, do not contain any legitimate arguments. There are many such publications. At the same time, the reliability of statistical measurements is being shaken, but nothing real and objective is proposed in their place.

[Question] How, then, do we measure the threat?

[Answer] There must be some sort of gauge, at least to arouse prosecuting officials to better, more effective work. In our circumstances this is represented by the statistics on crime. They are not, as some say, police reports and statistics; they are police-prosecutor's office statistics. May I remind you that several years ago a joint order from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Office of the General Prosecutor was issued concerning the keeping of statistics on crime. There is also another kind of statistics--judicial statistics. But using such statistics in order to evaluate the current crime rate may be fallacious. The total volume of such statistics often includes acts which were committed much earlier (than the related case reached the courts).

It is a shame that no more objective measure has been developed to date. In this regard I am of the opinion that we should not rely exclusively on statistics; we should also poll public opinion and study the basic feelings of society in this domain. It has happened, after all, that the statistics have been excellent and yet in a given region there was still a perceptible threat of banditry or hooliganism. We likewise are confronted with the accusation that recently there has been a flood of information associated with situations that threaten.

[Question] And is there something to all of this?

[Answer] The truth is that, in reality, prosecuting officials, including the police, now have more possibilities for presenting data, including unfavorable data.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] First, because there was not such a great need in the past. At least it seems so to me. In the past, I did not encounter so many people who were interested in the state of crime as I have of late.

However, we should not accuse the police, and particularly the Criminal Bureau, with "manipulation" of statistics on the state of crime. I would like to note the fact that in 1979 the Criminal Bureau of the MO Main Command made a "Report on the State of Criminal Offensiveness and Methods for Battling Crime." We based this report on many years of research encompassing the past 18 years. I know that this report reached people who influenced the policy of penal prosecution. The report reached the government, the Central Committee, the general prosecutor and the organs which administer justice. Even then, in 1979, we warned of the development of negative phenomena and trends. These prognoses of ours are proving true--and much more violently than we predicted--because they are occurring within a specific societal situation.

[Question] The report was known in 1979. As far as I know it was opened in secret. Revealing its contents today, in my opinion, smacks of manipulation, since our society is already in enough unrest as a result of the situation of our country. This additional information serves definite propaganda arguments.

[Answer] I brought up the matter of the report for two reasons. First, I wanted to prove that our disquiet goes back much further than recent days. But primarily I wanted to point out that the notion of the exclusively random, fragmentary presentation of data is just not true. Furthermore, those who make mention of such practices are the ones who are guilty of such behavior.

But to return to the report--we revealed such fragments as applied to the specific topics taken up by the means of mass communication. Are there more such fragments to be published? Yes, but the climate is such that in many fields of social and economic life there now arise issues having a negative connotation (vide licensing and investments decisions and the like). We have still not published the whole report. I could give many examples of sexual murders and their lurid details. Many subjects have still not received an objective explanation. I refer to the curses of alcoholism, drug abuse and the lack of proper security for public property.

[Question] Colonel, let us be honest--has crime increased, or not?

[Answer] On the basis of our raw statistics and working with data from 4 months of this year, we have ascertained a marked increase in criminal offensiveness by more than 26 percent. For more serious crimes (murders, rapes, robberies and serious break-ins into public and private buildings as well as theft of these buildings), the increase is still higher.

Sex-related murders have also increased, but let us keep in mind that, to a certain extent, the situation in rapes and prostitution also has an effect on this increase. For this reason, I cannot agree with the position that makes light of the meaning of these acts, as did a journalist in *ZYCIE WARSZAWY*. We also ascertain an increase in accidentally caused deaths (over 22 percent) and an increase in bodily injury by more than 12 percent. Moreover, the number of individual and group actions of rowdiness have also increased. I can give you numerous examples.

[Question] Colonel, your academic title is proof of the fact that you do not believe that crime has suddenly shown a phenomenal increase that grows daily because we have all suddenly had a desire to play at being policemen and thieves. You must realize that this is the result of many years of demoralization and of putting blinders on society in order to limit their access to ideas which truly serve human development. Today we are manifesting the consequences of this and we tend to forget its causes. Do you agree?

[Answer] Yes, I think so. Too little is said about the genesis of crime, its etiology. And we almost never speak of how we should go about coordinating our efforts to counteract crime. No one talks about what we should do. Show me some published materials of any value which state that scholars and practitioners are deliberating jointly on what should be done. We should coordinate the efforts of prosecuting officials and officials who administer justice. But not only this. We should indicate what every citizen can do in his own self-defense. I am not calling

for the police to be replaced. But just look at other countries (the United States, the FRG, the USSR), how much emphasis they place on matters associated with the self-defense of citizens, with the protection of children and with the security of property, automobiles and the like.

[Question] For all of this we need the cooperation of the police and society. When I was witness to the happenings in Otwock, I saw--although I was already aware of it--just how isolated the police are and how poorly society regards them. And it is not only a question of Otwock. This is the case throughout the whole country. We must think now what should be done in order to make such cooperation possible. What should we do to mend this rift which only grew and grew in 1968, 1970 and 1976?

[Answer] I think that for various reasons Otwock is not the best example of the idea you have set forth. I am not a politician. I have worked at my profession for 27 years. On the basis of my experiences I have the authority to say many things. I have been able to view various phases of my work. Keep in mind that I joined the MO before 1956. I experienced all of those important, in many ways, tragic dates on the calendar. The events of 1956 were critical for me, as were those of March 1968--I was in Warsaw at the time. I lived through the events of 1970, and those of Krakow in 1976. I must say that one thing surprises me, and I say this from a professional point of view. At this time we have conditions which are more unfavorable for work than any other time. It is a puzzling thing--I suspect that by now we are experiencing the cumulative effect of certain factors which have piled up over the course of many years and many happenings. Hence the especially intensive character of what is now occurring...

[Question] But before this time was the crisis never so profound as now in other fields of life?

[Answer] No, as you are aware, in the respect that it is particularly disturbing that when the facts of the perpetration of a crime are evident--and I could give many such examples of late--the police are unable to summon the support of the people for their actions at the moment of their intervention. I find it absurd that Zielenski says in ZYCIE WARSZAWY (despite the many other solid arguments in his article) that a policeman who desires to hold a malefactor must first conduct practically a whole judicial proceeding on the street. Zielenski says something to the effect that: "The citizen will offer support to a policeman--if he is convinced that the suspect is really guilty." Try to imagine such a pressing situation on the street...

[Question] Nonetheless, I believe that the policeman must have the trust of the citizen. Then things will not develop into such a situation. The citizen must have the sense that the profession engaged in by the policeman serves his interests. And he doesn't feel this way. And we constantly have examples of cases in which the militia is the tool and the object of manipulation of enigmatic political forces. Take the Bydgoszcz affair, for example. And the arson in Bialystok and many other places. This, instead of building confidence, builds up higher walls. Sometimes I think that the leadership of the militia is made up of people who are working toward their own detriment. And this is likewise irritating because they thereby work toward my detriment, toward the detriment of the citizen who will be left defenseless against hooligans on the street because of a militia made powerless due to the lack of confidence of society in them.

[Answer] I can only tell you this: that we, MO officials are fully aware of the need for societal support and trust. We are also interested in the ultimate clarification of all of the matters of which you spoke. We believe that this would clear the air considerably, but by chance do not examples of several other marginal matters excessively cloud your picture? Please remember that in the course of a year we conduct several hundred thousand criminal proceedings. We undertake hundreds of thousands of instances of intervention of various kinds. If, in our work, there are also incidental matters to which we have an unequivocal attitude, then how can you immediately pose the idea that the militia in general does not operate in a law-abiding way?

[Question] But regardless of what you or I want, such a consciousness does exist as a social fact and we here, as we sit at this table at the MO Main Command, cannot help that attitude.

[Answer] Let me tell you something else, even though what I say may smack of bitterness.

[Question]...I'd be surprised if you had none...

[Answer] But please observe what is happening. There are discussions of the subject of law and order among the proper commissions in which the militia is spoken of, often without a familiarity with the facts and without the presence of an MO representative. They speak of people engaging in a certain profession--and I do consider this a profession--not taking into account whether this profession is engaged in well or poorly, but the one whose interest is in the profession does not participate in the discussion. And perhaps we would have a persuasive argument. Isn't this possible?

A concept should be developed which would reconcile the fundamental principles of the work of our service with the interest of every person. The following matters are essential here: one's being disposed to be a policeman, the issuing of orders, work adaptability and the like. Society expects us to act. The planned law concerning trade unions includes the statement that certain professions may not organize and strike. We are mentioned, among others. There are also various conflicting statements in other regulations.

[Question] Today the laws are not unshakable...

[Answer] They are not unshakable, that is true. However, the militia is a paramilitary institution. Each of us has some rank and we are bound by the element of the issuing of orders and leadership. And this would have to be taken into consideration.

I should also add that, in recent times more than ever before, there arises the need to protect the official himself. Policemen, even local policemen, work under very difficult conditions (I am glossing over certain matters here, of course, which are of a degenerative character). Officers in the criminal service are in a state of constant readiness. They work odd hours, on holidays and on days when others are off. They are often in danger of losing their lives and imperiling their health. From this viewpoint, we must consider combining the elements which are characteristic of the trade union with the elements which issue from the specific nature of policework.



[Question] Colonel, at this time I notice another phenomenon which perhaps has contributed to your embitterment. That is, that the political and administrative officials to whom you are subordinate are being purged whether to bring about a change in personnel or a change of face as well, and you become the whipping boys. Hence there is much bitterness and unrest within your ranks. Perhaps it seems paradoxical, but is the militia beginning to be left defenseless?

[Answer] The often occurring bitterness, it seems to me, does not issue from the fact that someone has been purged, that personnel have been replaced, that a change of faces has been made. Among valuable militia employees, it is the consequence of the lack of appreciation of their work and their efforts, and likewise of the good results of their detective work. It is the consequence of the lack of support of their useful service and of the general censure of all of them because of their ostensible lawlessness. I have also perceived--and I have had years of experience--that here, as in other areas, we need certain organizational-structural changes to streamline our work. But these changes should be effected quietly and with due consideration. With regard to the expressed fear of defenselessness, I can assure you that we still have available the means of which no one has dispossessed us.

[Question] Means--in what sense?

[Answer] There are legal means. There is also the human potential of people who are well prepared, who take their profession seriously, who have good morale and who are effective in their actions against criminal offenders. But for these means to bring about the anticipated societal effects, they must also have the combined support of citizens and state officials.

[Interviewer] Colonel, thank you for the interesting conversation.

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## ROMANIA

### ERRORS IN WEST GERMAN ARTICLE ON ROMANIAN HISTORY CITED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian Jun 81 pp 1176-1182

[Article by Ligia Barzu: "Several Explanations Regarding the History of the Romanians as Reflected in Foreign Publications"]

[Text] The FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG is publishing a series of articles regarding the origins of the Romanian people written by Dr Andreas Jonas and professor Donald McKay. Normally, such articles would not deserve, immediately, a response within a scientific magazine. The prestige of the newspaper within which these articles are appearing, the groups being addressed and the scientific and academic titles of the two authors presented to the public, as well as the circumstances that their ideas are not missing from more recent allegedly scientific works, constitute sufficiently serious reasons for discussing the opinions they have formulated. The main idea that runs through the three articles is the south-Danubian origin of the Romanian people in a restricted area around Lake Ohrida. From there, as a result of the nomadic migrations of Vlachian shepards, the territories were occupied that, later, yielded historical records of their presence.

The arguments that are used are known as part of the arsenal presented by R. Roesler and those who follow his ideas:

- 1) the existence in Romanian and Albanian of certain common words;
- 2) the presence of certain Romanian geographic names in the Balkans;
- 3) south-Slavic words in Romanian
- 4) the absence of Old Germanic words in Romanian;
- 5) the non-Romanian origin of names for important cities and rivers in Transylvania;
- 6) archeological digs have not confirmed the north-Danubian origins of Romanians;
- 7) the Romanian's dependence, until 1767, upon the jurisdiction of the bishop of Ohrida, and so forth.

In addition to these ideas, which eventually can be brought into the limits of a scientific discussion, there are a series of phrases whose aggressiveness do not need to be emphasized. We are speaking of "the theory-dilemma of the Daco-Romans, through which the Romanians hide their Balkan origins" and of the "story" about the "Daco-Roman theory" which "has always been rejected by scientists as unfounded." One also reads a phrase from Stadtmüller in which we are reminded of the "exacerbated infantile chauvinism" and so forth.

What is shocking, first of all, in the arguments of these two is the fact that they feel they can avoid any responsibility by invoking names and ideas that they list in an over-elaborated disorder. Historians of the modern era (S. Dragomir) and linguists who have never for one moment shared the thesis of a south-Danubian homeland (Alex. Rosetti) are quoted in a manner that clearly aims at throwing off track the unwary reader. In this same category, we also find the allusion to the "careful recording by the Byzantine chroniclers" of the migration of the Vlachs from the middle of the Balkans towards the Danube.

They also try to obtain a favorable impression by mimicking up-to-date information, quoting from recent editions of certain works that appeared either at the beginning of the 20th century (D. Densusianu) or during the inter-war period or at the beginning of World War II (Al. Rosetti, G. Stadtmüller).

What also is surprising is their failure to mention a single historian or linguist who has taken an opposing position. This is probably because people like Th. Mommsen did not appear to them to be important enough. First of all, we can note Romanian historians such as D. Onciul, A. D. Xenopol, N. Iorga, V. Parvan, N. Banescu, G. Bratianu, S. Dragomir, I. I. Nistor, C. C. Giurgescu, C. Daicoviciu, R. Vulpe, Gh. Stefan and I. Nestor, who in summaries and studies have demonstrated the continuity of the Romanians north of the Danube and the unfounded nature of the arguments regarding their Balkan origins.

Not all foreign historians have declared their acceptance of the thesis of a south-Danubian homeland, as Mr A. Jonas claims. We have already mentioned the name of Th. Mommsen.

To this, one can add other names, such as L. Ranke, V. Duruy, J. Jung, J. L. Pic, V. Chapot, Franz Altheim, F. Lot or R. Paribeni. Furthermore, shocked by the very contradictory points of view of certain neighboring historiographies, F. Lot was to state "Where else could you locate the Daco-Romans? The Hungarians, Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks all agree that not under any circumstances in Transylvania, in Serbia, in Bulgaria, in Macedonia or on Mount Pinde.

"Nevertheless, they did not fall from the sky or spring up from hell. These unanimous feelings against the Romanians urge one to adopt the thesis of Daco-Romanian continuity north of the Danube" (RHSEE, XX, 1943, p 52).

And, R. Paribeni concludes volume I of this work "Optimus Princeps" with the following statements: "The minting of money bearing the inscription Dacia Provincia in the year 112 reminds us that at that time the vast program was largely completed. Through this program, Trajan managed to establish a Latin civilization in Eastern Europe, just as Julius and Augustus Caesar had established one in the West. So vivid and profound was the imprint of Romanism that the course of many centuries and changes did not succeed in destroying it. The Roman occupation of Dacia lasted a little more than a century. However, the intensive Roman culture in Moesia Minor

did not last much longer, only three or four generations in all, yet, despite centuries of unheard of misery, disgraceful servitude, brutality, reversion to an uncivilized state, the end of every source of life and richness, destruction of culture and intellectual pursuits and the loss of contacts, even religious ones, with the ancient motherland, it maintained the noble flame of its Romanism in a vivid and intact manner, finding in it the final defense against perishing. From a vague memory of having been a Roman state, faced with Slavic, Tartar, Hungarian and Turkish violence and having restored national dignity among a diverse group of Slaves, even today in the Danubian lowlands and in the mountains of Transylvania, Roma Aeterna, the grand, powerful and beneficent motherland, is acclaimed with trembling passion" ("Optimus Princeps," I, in the *Storica Principato Library*, Messina, V, 1926, pp 339-340).

With regards to the main arguments upon which their position is based:

1. 1) The problem of reconstituting the pre-Latin substrata of Romanian is not so simple. The main reason is that we do not have direct documents that allow us to understand the maternal language spoken by the people on both sides of the Danube during the period prior to the Roman conquest. Illyria did not leave us a single written document and Thrace only a single short inscription (Ezerovo) that can be understood only from a phrase made up of three words, with two of them representing proper names. Anthroponymies, toponymies and hydronymies of Thracian or Illyrian origins do not offer sufficient elements to understand the structures of these languages. This situation is not unique. It is also a phenomenon in other cultures where the Roman civilization was superimposed over the native one (for example, Gallia and Comata).

This simple finding shows that the categorical statements made in this field of research are always risky.

2) On the other hand, the research of numerous generations of linguists (Fr. Miklesich, H. Schuchardt, G. Meyer, C. Treimer, Th. Capidan, S. Puscariu, Alex. Grauer, I. I. Russu, Vl. Georgiev and so forth<sup>1</sup>) has allowed us to arrive at certain conclusions with regards to approximately 160 to 170 Romanian words that stem from this substratum. The first important achievement is separating the common Romanian and Albanian words (approximately 70) from those that belong solely to the Romanian (approximately 90 to 100 words). The second important finding is that these 70 common words to Romanian and Albanian are not exchanges resulting from a Romanian-Albanian coexistence on the shores of Lake Ochrida, but very probably stem from a source common to both languages - Traco-Daco-Moesic or Daco-Moesic (Em. Petrovici, Vl. Georgiev, I. I. Russu, I. Coteanu).

It is also a significant fact that, in comparison to Daco-Romanian, some of the dialects spoken by the south-Danubian Romanians contain a smaller number of common words with Albanian, despite their more frequent and longer contacts with them.<sup>2</sup>



3) Finally, one cannot ignore the fact that the Romanian language has a large number of words from the pre-Latin stock that cannot but come from the Daco-Moesic substratum and that are not in common with Albanian.<sup>3</sup> Their existence in the language has no other value than to stress the individuality of Romanian among the romance languages, since after a period of Daco-Roman bilingualism Latin eliminated the Dacian language from use, taking a small number of words that it transformed in accordance with its own phonetic laws.<sup>4</sup>

An explanation must be made that the archeological research during the post-war period has made fundamental contributions in proving the two phenomena that are responsible for the particular structure of the Romanian language: the continuity of the Dacians in the provinces and the Daco-Roman symbiosis. There is no need for too numerous details, since it is sufficient for us to point out the circumstances that 87 villages have already been identified as belonging to the Daco-Roman population, with many of them containing older settlements from the pre-Roman period. A significant number of cemeteries were examined containing the remains of the Daco-Roman population, such as, for example, the cemeteries at Locusteni, Enisala, Soporul de Cimpie, Obreja and so forth. Similarly, proof has been given of the existence of Dacians in Roman camps and settlements of an urban nature. Already, in nine Roman camps and eight urban centers numerous and important proofs have turned up attesting to the presence of a Dacian population. This reality must be correlated with written information (Ptolemy, the Peutingerian Tablet) that mentions an unusually large number of settlements whose names are undoubtedly of native origins. The 27 toponymies of pre-Latin origins, including 22 that are surely of Dacian origin, can only be explained by the Romans' acceptance of these from the local people.

Finally, there is at the moment a sufficient number of archeological discoveries that attest to the continuity of the Dacian substratum in the provinces in the Brata-type complexes, in cemetery No 1, Sighisoara "Dealul Viilor," Harman, Verbita and Gropsani, until the fourth to fifth century A. D.

The identification of the cultural complexes belonging to the free Dacians, as well as the analysis of the impact of the Roman conquest and the intensification of the influence of the Roman civilization, are, likewise, exceptional achievements of post-war archeology. The research by R. Vulpe at Polenesti, Gh. Bichir at Padureni, Poiana Dulcesti, Matasaru and Scornicesti and so forth, and by I. Ionita and V. Ursachi at Valeni, where the most extensive cemetery was discovered (over 1,000 graves), by S. Morintz at Chilia, M. Constantiniu at Militari and Straulesti and by I. H. Crisan and S. Dumitrascu in the region of the free Dacians in the west, as well as the appearance of certain summary works, such as that by Gh. Bichir regarding the Carpic culture, which has also appeared in an English translation in London, have substantially modified the understanding of the Romanization process.

Faced with such a reality, the statement that Donald McKay uses to conclude his letter to FAZ appears ridiculous: "At the current level of linguistic knowledge, and from archeological digs, the western Balkans and not the former Dacia (Transylvania and the Banat) are the country of origin of the Vlachs (the Romanians)."

II. The explanation for the absence or extremely few words of Old Germanic in the Romanian language must be sought, first of all, in the form and duration of the early German settlements north of the Danube:

1) Recent archeological research corroborated with literary or epigraphic sources requires us to reconsider concepts of the 18th and 19th centuries regarding the fate of Dacia after the Aurelian withdrawal.

a) The Visigoths appear to have settled between approximately 313-319 (when the military power of the free Dacians in Moldavia was eliminated)<sup>5</sup> and 332 (the date of concluding the foedus with Constantin).<sup>6</sup> They primarily settled in compact groups to the east of the Siret and in the east half of the Wallachian Plain, and pressed up against the Danube.<sup>7</sup> We do not know of settlements or cemeteries in the former Roman Dacia (Transylvania, the Banat and Oltenia) or to the west of the Transalutan region,<sup>8</sup> with the exception of a small group that infiltrated, perhaps in 350,<sup>9</sup> into the upper Mures Valley.

They moved en masse to the south of the Danube in 376-377, while in 381 the traditional group led by Atanarich departed.

b) The Ostrogoths, archeologically shown to be present between approximately 420/430 and 488, appear to have represented a very weak leading stratum.<sup>10</sup> They abandoned their settlements in Pannonia in 488 and moved into Italy.

c) Like the Ostrogoths, the Gepidae had their political center to the west of the Western Carpathians. The settlement of certain more important groups of the Gepidae in Transylvania took place after approximately 568. Monuments belonging to them stop being erected between approximately 630 and 650. This movement did not affect the Banat and the extra-Carpathian regions.

Therefore, in Transylvania the only more significant Germanic group was the Gepidae.

The picture drawn earlier results from separating the material cultures representing the diverse Germanic waves (Cerneahov for the Visigoths, the series of royal monuments for the Ostrogoths and the Bandu-Bratei group and cemetery No 3 for the Gepidae) from that of the native, Daco-Roman population (Bratei, cemetery No 1,<sup>11</sup> Harman,<sup>12</sup> Verbita<sup>13</sup> - Gropeni,<sup>14</sup> Baleni,<sup>15</sup> Costisa<sup>16</sup> for the fourth and fifth centuries, and Bratei<sup>17</sup> - settlement, Sighisoara, <sup>18</sup> Ipotesti-Cindesti-Ciurelu-Botosana II <sup>19</sup> for the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries).

2. The contacts between the two population groups were, without a doubt, made difficult by"

a) The closed nature of the Germanic communities, organized according to their own laws and traditions;

b) The different level of social-economic development, political organization and spiritual traditions;

c) Although reciprocal contacts and influences were made,<sup>20</sup> the early German's resistance to assimilating the material aspects of the Roman civilization, among other things, and the adoption of the Arian rite Christianity<sup>21</sup> did not favor a Daco-Roman-Germanic symbiosis and, as a result, the exchange of language components.<sup>22</sup>

III. With regards to the toponymic and hydronymic arguments, they have doubtful value, especially since they generalize certain realities that are valid for Transylvania for the entire Romanian region.

D. McKay forgets or does not know (although he is an expert in the history of Central Europe) that the lack of continuity in the names of certain cities in Transylvania is explained by:

a) The end of urban life at the beginning of the fifth century and the complete ruralization of life in the former province;

b) The reforming of urban life in Transylvania was late and closely tied to the progress of the authorities of the Hungarian crown and the Saxon colonization;

c) The refounding of cities, as a result, produced new names;

d) This situation is not identical in the extra-Carpathian regions where we do not have a Hungarian or German colonization and where we encounter typically Romanian city names.

For the rest, it has been long demonstrated,<sup>23</sup> beginning with chancery documents, that a great many Hungarian names merely represent a simple translation of certain older toponymies.

Furthermore, microregional studies have proved that in the names of localities the Romanian stratum is the oldest, most important and most stable, which demonstrates that the Romanians are the creators of these toponymies.<sup>24</sup>

2. With regards to hydronymies, without a doubt, despite the difficulties in reconstructing the exact stages of phonetic evolution,<sup>25</sup> the Romanian language preserved the names of pre-Latin origins (accepted from the local people by the Romans and, later, the Slavs) for certain waterways, such as the Mures, Someș, Olt, Argeș, Siret, Prut and so forth.

Undoubtedly, for D. McKay these waterways are not sufficiently large to enter into the category in which he works.

IV. The dependency of the Romanian church upon the archbishop of Ochrida is an old Roeslerian argument whose value can be considered from two points of view:

1) The value of the information upon which this supposition is based. In this regard, it was long ago proven that the tradition of the 17th and 18th centuries, relative to such a dependency, deals with only certain south-Danubian relations<sup>26</sup> based on three novels from the chancery of Vasile II the Bulgarocton between 1019 and 1020, regarding the organization and jurisdiction of the Bulgarian church after the elimination of the czardom and the reestablishment of Byzantine rule throughout the Balkan Peninsula.

Furthermore, it is strange to bring back into discussion an argument whose inconsistency was emphasized in a series of works or studies<sup>27</sup> that appeared 40 years ago. In addition, a study that recently appeared<sup>28</sup> presents the current state of the problem, mentioning that the aforementioned tradition reflects a reality of very short duration during the fifth decade of the 16th century. Moreover, with the approval of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the two Romanian countries organized their own metropolitan seats in the 14th century, under Nicolae Alexandru in Wallachia in 1359 and, after long negotiations conducted by a number of musadins, under Alexander the Good in Moldavia in 1401. And, the dependency of certain churches in Maramures (the Peri monastery) upon the same patriarchal seat was recorded in 1391. In addition to this, we know of the support given to the Orthodox church in Transylvania by the rulers of the two Romanian countries and these metropolitan seats.<sup>29</sup>

This dependency is clearly stated in the alliance treaty concluded between Sigismund Bathory and Mihai Viteazul on 20 May 1595: "And, all the Romanian churches under the rule of His Serenity will be under the jurisdiction and disposition of the Archbishop of Tirgoviste, according to the guidance of the church law and the regulations in this country" (I. Lupas, "Destituirea unui episcop roman din Ardeal la anul 1574" [The Deposition of a Romanian Bishop in Transylvania in 1574], in "Studies, Conferences, Reports," I, Bucharest, 1928, pp 112-115).

One could even add that this tie between the Patriarchate in Constantinople and the metropolitan seats in the Romanian countries cannot be separated from the efforts to counterattack Catholic propaganda and, later, reformed beyond the mountains. At the same time, one cannot pass over the support given by the Romanian rulers to the entire Eastern Orthodox Church, support that went so far as to directly intervene in the affairs of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (Fr. Pall, "Vasile Lupu's Relations with the Eastern Orthodox Church and Especially with the Patriarchate of Constantinople," *Balkanica*, VIII, 1943, p 66 and later). These data are sufficient to show Mr A. Jonas' integrity when he speaks of a dependency upon the Archbishopric of Ochrida until 1767.



Further, such a dependency is also disproved through the formal act of 20 March 1701, through which Anastasie broke any ties with the Ungro-Valachic Metropolitan: "From this day forward, I break all correspondence and exchanges through letters and friendship with the heretics and ruler and King of the Romanian countries, and I will have no answer for them from this time forward. Nor will I recognize any more my archbishop and bishop in Bucharest, and I, together with my entire synod, will submit to the archbishop of Estergom. He will be the bishop I recognize, this I can do, as a greater bishop than Vladicul, and I will listen to him. And, instead of showing writings to the King of the Wallachian countries first, I will show them to my theologian and my adviser" (I. Lupas, "The Severance of the Church of the Transylvanian Romanians," in the volume "Studies, Conferences, Reports," I, Bucharest, 1928, p 231 and later).

2) The value of the religious jurisdiction in judging an ethno-linguistic problem. It appears to us that the argument is childish because it is very difficult to presuppose an absolute tie between the country of origin of certain beliefs and the location of the head of the church. Beginning from such an argument, one can arrive at absurd conclusions of the type of the Italian origins of African Catholics by virtue of their dependency upon the papal seat or the Greek origins of all Orthodox members dependent upon the patriarchy in Constantinople.

V. There is not Byzantine text that speaks of a march by Romanians from the region of Lake Ochrida to north of the Danube. Here, Mr Jonas is telling a fable when he states that this movement was "carefully recorded." It is even curious how such a move, which involves a vast area (between Epir-Thessalia and the Northern Carpathians), is not recorded by the Byzantine chancery or the Bulgarian one or the Hungarian one. How is it possible that such a exodus of people not be recorded in any way, not even by the most bureaucratic administration, the Byzantines? Does this not appear to be reasons for meditation for these two supporters of the theory of "the long march?" Just as it is very curious that neither of these two experts of history of the beginnings of the Romanian people was struck by the fact that all the information that we have available, be it of Byzantine sources (Kekaumenos)<sup>30</sup> or of Western sources (Francian Letters), it demonstrates to us that:

a) The Daco-Roman origins of the Romanians in the Balkans are not a secret, since the time it was recorded in detailed by Kekaumenos;

b) The direction of the Romanians' movement was from the north to the south, even from Pannonia towards the Balkans, and not the reverse;

VI. The supposition of the nomadic pastoralism of the Romanians is refuted by:

1. The 72 geographic names quoted by Donald McKay, after S. Dragomir, attests to an existence for a long duration in the same place, which cannot be the case for certain nomads. Furthermore, it is especially known that nomads rarely leave behind

geographic names. The Romanians must have stayed there if they gave these geographic features names and these names were preserved over the centuries.

2. Chancery documents and other sources mention villages that have existed for hundreds of years, as well as the presence of Romanians in communities of an urban nature.<sup>31</sup>

3. The archaeological discoveries made throughout Romania and which date back to the fourth to fifth centuries and the 10th to 11th centuries show us a population having a mixed economy, not a pastoral one.

4. Ethnographically speaking, among the Romanians there are only those who moved with their flocks of sheep, not nomads.<sup>32</sup>

5. Clearly, no one is contesting the historical reality of certain important movements of peoples in the Balkan Peninsula. Merely that these migrations have no ethnic value. They were caused by great invasions or by the progress in the process of feudalization and affected, to an equal degree, all the peoples in the Balkan Peninsula.

6. Finally, it is very difficult to quietly ignore the fact that three independent sources - Moise of Choren's Armenian Geography,<sup>33</sup> the "Oguzname Turkish Chronicle"<sup>34</sup> and the "Chronicle of the Anonymous Notary" - note the existence to the north of the Danube of certain Romanian political formations during the ninth and tenth centuries.

VII. With regards to the region of the formation of the Romanian people, no linguist or historian reduces it to the current borders of Romania. The presence of Romanians to the south of the Balkans is explained by this reality and through the "long marches" made from the north to the south.

It is very probable that the events that took place during the seventh century (the penetration of the Slavs and, later, of the proto-Bulgarians) broke the linguistic continuum that tied together the groups of Romanized peoples on both sides of the Danube. From this moment, one can speak of a parallel, but independent evolution of the two Roman peoples. The continuity of the Romanians north of the Danube is proved not only by archaeological discoveries, but also by the wealth and variety of folklore traditions.<sup>35</sup> Just as the breaking away of the southern branch and its different historical evolution explains the absence in the Aromanian folklore of such a characteristic element as the *doina*.<sup>36</sup>

VIII. It appears that Mr. Donald Mackay forget that we are named Romanians and that our country is called Romania. Other people named us Vlachs or Valachs, and, over time, the term has begun to take on a pejorative nuance. For a specialist in the

history of Central Europe, the failure to understand or take into consideration this distinction appears even more than surprising. And this is even more so since throughout the entire article he did not forget to place the name Romanian in parentheses. He probably forgot that one of the complaints of the Romanians, expressed on the Field of Liberty, was for no one to any longer address them by the name of Valachs.

It seems to us that two things need to be mentioned in concluding these observations:

1. Mr A. Jonas considers the Daco-Roman origins of the Romanians to be a dream. If this refers to the beliefs of the authors of the *Supplex* and the *Memorandum* that they can find good will by knocking at the doors of the empires and supporting their cause with historical arguments, then we can agree that we are speaking of dreams. Because history has demonstrated that righteousness is not on their side, but on that of Horea and Avram Iancu.
2. The result is that the level of scientific information and integrity is not always directly proportional to the stated scientific and university titles. Some people with opinions have even had the intelligence or prudence to hide these two defects behind a pseudonym.

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4. Idem, "Native Elements," pp 110-116; I. Coteanu, op. cit., pp 27-28.
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## ROMANIA

### HISTORIAN OBJECTS TO REVIEW OF HIS BOOK

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Jun 81 pp 1193-1196

[Article by Tahsin Gemil: "Several Explanations Regarding a Review"]

[Text] It is known that a worthy evaluation of an object, done responsibly and on the basis of certain solid specialized knowledge with regards to certain scientific requirements, has significant effects both for the improvement of the object in question and for the progress of the research involved in the problem under discussion.

Unfortunately, Radu Constantinescu's review was not carried out from such an objectively scientific position and with such constructive intentions, as published in REVISTA DE ISTORIE, No 1/1981, regarding my book "The Romanian Countries in the International Political Context, 1621-1672" (Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979, 231 pages).

Keeping in mind the broad audience of this prestigious publication in which the review was published, I feel obligated to give several explanations with regards to R. C.'s observations, especially to make things clear for those readers who did not have the opportunity to consult my book, which was published in a reduced number of copies.

Although R. C. feels that the book "represents undoubted progress," "a serious work" and even "a model for the chapter on general foreign policy" in a "future book" on Romanian history, nonetheless his observations demonstrate a superficial reading and a surprising misunderstanding of the problems dealt with in this book.

The review begins with the statement that the book's title is "deceiving," designed, in R. C.'s opinion, "to attract." The reviewer ignores knowingly, however, the fact that the first page of the Introduction states that the book deals with the political configurations in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Furthermore, the initial title of the book was "The Romanian Countries in the International Political Context in Eastern and Southeastern Europe (1621-1672)." I decided not to use the final part of it for editorial-technical reasons, having been considered too long.

In this same introductory portion of the book, I also explain as clearly as possible the fact that the political situation of the region, and implicitly the international position of the Romanian countries at that time, was determined by the evolution of Ottoman-Tatar-Polish relations. Emphasizing that the foreign political orientation of Transylvania and the Romanian countries was tied on a priority basis to the Habsburg Empire, when "Moldavia sought - until the end of the 16th century - the necessary support on a foreign level, first of all, in the power of Poland" (p 12), I clearly pointed out that "Moldavia was vitally interested in the evolution of relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Royal Republic and was, at the same time, much more involved than the other two Romanian countries in carrying this out... This is how we also explain the fact that our main attention was directed upon the explanation of Moldavia's position in the international political context during this time, without this meaning that it could be viewed as isolated from the other two Romanian countries. On the contrary, the emphasis on the organic correlation between Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania constitutes a constant factor in the entire book. This is even more true since the 17th century brought forth a clear development of a unity of ideas of the three Romanian countries" (p 12).

Actually, an objective and informed reader can easily see that the book brings to light both the key points of Moldavia's international position and the Eastern and Southeastern European dimensions of the political initiatives of Transylvania and the Romanian countries. The new elements brought into discussion and the multilateral view of the analysis reveal not only the unity of action between the three Romanian countries, but also clarifies a series of problems that had remained unsolved or erroneously evaluated until now regarding the international political situation of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania. For that reason, I feel that R. C. avoided or purely and simply did not understand exactly the political context in which the Romanian countries evolved during this period, since otherwise he would not have been able to propose modifying the book's title to read "The Moldavian-Tatar Relations During the Era of Turkish-Polish Balance of Power, 1621-1672."

The book does not follow the policies or foreign affairs of the Romanian countries, but tries to fix the place and role of the Romanian countries in the complex evolution of the international situation in the region. And, with the key points (without going into further detail) of the political configuration in Eastern and Southeastern Europe during this period not being appropriately revealed in historiography, it was first of all necessary to establish and reconstruct the international political directions, processes and events. Only in this context does the placement of the Romanian countries in the general context acquire a clarification absolutely indispensable to following the political developments. The view in dealing with these developments is not unilateral, as has been the case, especially up to now, but one constantly changing depending upon the interaction of the factors involved and in direct relation to the weight of these

factors in determining the general political status. Because of the movement of the main concerns of the great powers in other directions, the Tatar factor (and later the Zaporozhian factor) played an especially important role in the evolution of the overall political situation in Eastern Europe during this time.

But, in R. C.'s view the Crimean Khanate is merely "a political grouping that is so lax that we can barely define it as an independent entity." R. C. thus proves that he is not up-to-date with the current stage of research on the worldwide level, which has already brought to light the real status of the Crimean Khanate regarding the Ottoman Empire. It is sufficient for me to note in this regard the evaluations of certain reputed specialists in this field who have recently published the valuable volume of documents "The Crimean Khanate From the Archives of the Museum on the Palace of Topkapı," the School of Higher Studies in Social Sciences, Paris, 1978: "In addition, through the consistent errors of dealing with the Khanate that have presented an 'Ottoman-centralist' view of a Tatar state that is a loyal and submissive vassal protegee of the Ottoman Empire, with a sort of 'colonial' dependence, its institutions, ideology and foreign policies have been incorrectly and mistakenly reflected as those of the Sublime Porte" (p 1). Such errors, which are also made by R. C., persist because of prejudices and a failure to understand historical reality. They have impeded our historiography from making the expected progress in showing the place and role of the Romanian countries on an international level in the 16th to 18th centuries.

R. Constantinescu then states that "The book's bibliography, and even its Romanian one, is sufficiently weak, especially if we keep in mind that not a single work quoted were actually used." In the case of such a serious statement, the basic sense of responsibility requires R. C. to correctly indicate the sources and works that he has in mind. R. C. could not do this, however, since this book is based upon the entire existing bibliography referring to the subject under consideration. A simple perusal of the book is more than sufficient to reveal the gratuitous nature of R. C.'s statements.

In his attempt to slander a scientific work done in an honest manner, which required overcoming many difficulties, R. C. does not back away from stating, contrary to the evidence, that "since I. Gemi's linguistic abilities are practically reduced to only the Turkish language, his principal sources are Ottoman ones, especially neglecting Italian, German, Polish, Russian and Hungarian sources, written in Latin or the modern national languages." This objection of R. C. is not only gratuitous, but also denotes an inexplicable malice.

Since we are speaking of a political context dominated by the Turkish factor and keeping in mind that the Ottoman and Crimean documents were not used simply because the researcher did not have the "linguistic ability," it was natural for the author to stress these sources, which are basic to the study of this particular subject.



At the same time, the book is also based upon the use of all important European sources, a fact that can be easily seen by going through the introduction and the footnotes. Apologizing to those readers who can make this simple check, I, nonetheless, feel obligated to mention that in researching this subject I began with the systematic study of our monumental collection of foreign documents, known under the name of their initiator, "Eudoxiu de Hurmuzakai." As one who has returned many times to the documents in this collection, especially in completing the collection of texts that he recently published, R. Constantinescu knows very well that the sources in the volumes of "Hurmuzakai" are published in "Latin or the modern national languages." In order to write the book under discussion, I effectively used at least 10 volumes of the abovementioned collection, giving special attention to the diplomatic reports and the Italian and Austrian confidential reports.

Similarly, in addition to the known volumes of the documents published by N. Iorga ("Documents and Fragments...", "Studies and Documents...") in which, as is well known, there are many foreign documents published in their original language, my book was also helped by the massive collection of documents written by Polish historians: "Acta Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia," Vol II-III, Cracow, 1880-1881; "Relacye nuncyuszow apostolskich i innych osob o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690," II, Berlin-Poznan, 1864; "Elementa ad Fontium Editiones," Vol XXVIII, pars III - Vol XXIX, pars V, Romae, 1972, and so forth. At the basis of the book, at the same time, are the volumes of documents published by I. Hudita ("Report on the Documents Concerning the Diplomatic Negotiations Between France and Transylvania in the 17th Century," Paris, 1926; "Recall of the Documents Concerning the History of the Romanian Country Taken From the Archives of France, the 16th and 18th Centuries," Iasi, 1929), the renown collection of international treaties by J. du Mont ("The Worldwide Diplomatic Corps...", Amsterdam-La Haye, 1726-1739) and the Russian and Soviet historical works (Smirnoc, Kostomarov, Novoselski and so forth) in which documents from the Russian archives were used first of all, as well as the precious writings from the era of "Samovidet," Chevalier and Mezeray, as published by A. Veress, of which I used volumes IX, X, and XI. There is no need, certainly, to cite other elements from the bibliography which, according to the evaluations of specialists who had the good will to review this book right from the manuscript phase (see p 34), is especially rich and varied and nearly exhaustive.

If with regards to the form, structure and documentary base of the book, R. C.'s "criticism" is reduced to insinuations and unfounded accusations, when we turn to the book's content the reviewer reveals not only his lack of knowledge of the subject being discussed, but also his misunderstanding of the basic characteristics of the relations between the Romanian countries and the Ottoman Empire.

Although the title of the book clearly shows that we are speaking of placing the Romanian countries within an international political context, R. C. pretends in a bizarre way to find "even here, roughly speaking, an evocation of the profound changes in the Moldavian agricultural and commercial structure." Then, he tries

to deny not only the demonstration and conclusion of this book, but also a proven historical reality of the overall documentary proof of the era. R. Constantinescu feels that in my book one encounters "the easy traditional explanations, unsubstantiated through arguments, which presuppose either a European policy for these rulers that are so subordinate to the Ottoman Empire or hegemonic trends, trends that were not, however, more than specific manifestations of the means of neutralizing certain military areas, yes even the unlikely (sic!) hopes for independence and other types of illusions of this nature."

It is truly strange to see R. C.'s attempts to minimize the history of the Romanian countries during this era and to annul through his pen the efforts made by these countries to preserve their political being and to reacquire freedom, at a time when even his recently published sources ("The Struggle for the National Unification of the Romanian Countries, 1590-1630. Foreign Documents." Bucharest, 1981, 384 pages) are making additional arguments in the direction of the results of my research.

Further, from the desire to disregard my book and, by extension, our entire specialized historiography, R. C. allows himself to make such worthy evaluations as: "Certainly, their foreign policy (the Romanian countries - T.G.) during this era remains a series of episodes of Ottoman or Polish politics, depending upon the countries' orientation at a given moment, with the only autonomous policy among the Romanians at that time being that made by Transylvania."

Thorough studies have demonstrated the uninterrupted validity of the principle of respecting the state autonomy of the three Romanian countries, and my book reveals, among other things, on the basis of documents of primary value, the strengthening of this principle during the 17th century (frequently even at the express wish of the Ottomans), up to nearly the point of independence, as it was for example during the time of Miron Barnovschi, Vasile Lupu and Gh. Stefan in Moldavia, Matei Basarab and Constantin Serban in Wallachia, and Bethlen Gabor and the two Gh. Rakoczi's in Transylvania. Only R. C. contests a unanimously recognized historical reality in its essential elements.

I admit that I did not understand what R. C. was actually pursuing, making such totally unfounded statements, just as I cannot explain to myself the purpose of this review, based entirely on gratuitous objections.

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1/16 2/16

CRNOBRNJA NOTES GAP BETWEEN DECISIONS, IMPLEMENTATION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1593, 12 Jul 81  
pp 10-12

[Interview with Bogdan Crnobrnja, Croatian delegate to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, by Aleksandar Novacic: "Against Federal Statism"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Bogdan Crnobrnja, revolutionary and veteran of the war, former ambassador to India and the United States, and for several years President Tito's general secretary and a member of the LCY Central Committee, is now a delegate of SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. For a time he was president of the Consolidated Enterprise of the Mechanical Equipment Industry in Belgrade (Gosa and Djuro Djakovic). This last post he held on a voluntary basis, heading enterprises of two republics (Serbia and Croatia), while he was at the same time professionally employed as a delegate from Croatia.

The immediate occasion for the interview was a statement he made in a recent session of the Assembly of Yugoslavia.

[Question] I would single out three things from your statement in the Assembly. First, you said that the Federal Executive Council bears "great responsibility, but is not the most responsible," second, that you are in favor of "federalism, but not federal statism," and third, that we have put too many things on the list of priorities, whereby you suggested that we ought to revise economic plans. Finally, you said that those who bear the greatest responsibility for the present situation are the people in the political structures, saying that this is true at all levels, and the reason you gave for this was the unfavorable balance of power. Can we begin the conversation with this last observation?

[Answer] We have been speaking about stabilization for 3 years or more now, and instead of stabilization, we have destabilization. This cannot help but cause a man concern. Does this mean that the leading political forces in this society are unable to carry out what we have all unanimously adopted? I think that this is what is involved, that our ineffectiveness in carrying out what we have agreed on is our main problem. It is clear that in this area the leading

political force, that is, the League of Communists, bears the greatest responsibility for that situation.

[Question] You mentioned the responsibility of the Federal Executive Council [SIV]?

[Answer] SIV's responsibility is clearly formulated in our laws and the constitution. It is their point of departure that the government must have a joint federal body with precisely stated powers, rights, obligations and duties. Nor are those minor duties. But that kind of atmosphere has been created; I even think that out of good intentions the Federal Executive Council has become excessively cautious in its behavior, since it is felt that this is politically necessary and opportune for our federal system to get on its feet. This has gone to such an extent that instead of being a political administrative body, the government has become another version of an interrepublic coordinating body. In that context things are not as they should be and there must be changes. I believe that we should and must unquestionably conduct consultations and reach agreement and that the opinion of every republic and province should be heard on an equal footing, but associated labor should get even more of a hearing. But everything has its limit. If an agreement is not reached, then the people should be changed. This slowness and ineffectiveness in reaching agreement cannot be tolerated, though the motives behind it be the very best, however much one desires equal and democratic cooperation, and so on. Experience shows that this must be subject to precise limits.

[Question] You opt for a stronger position of SIV?

[Answer] First of all, I opt for less statism, and then within the framework of the necessary role of the government, I opt for a more decisive role of SIV, set forth in the constitution and laws. If we are to tell it like it is, we must say that back last year the government proposed a number of stabilization measures, but there were difficulties with the republics and provinces and as a practical matter they did not accept those proposals. For instance, for a long time we were unable to agree on how much indebtedness to assume abroad. Nearly everyone wants to go further into debt. I hope that this will now come to a stop. So, the federal government should operate more decisively in the common interest than it has up to now. If it should fail to obtain support, let it take the political consequences of that, both it and those who do not agree with it. That also includes resignation.

It is my recollection that SIV has not been sending major pieces of legislation to the Assembly and that its bills have not been basically supported (as it is usually put) by all political forums. Consequently, all of this needs serious democratic discussion, and not hasty a priori attitudes and decisions.

I think that our true and greatest preoccupation in resolving all issues should be how to implement what we have agreed on. How to develop self-management. This is the dialogue we most need. There are certain preconditions for that. The first is that we must have more public and critical dialogue.



[Question] Don't we have too many discussions and debates?

[Answer] Yes and no. Our situation is contradictory in a certain sense. At certain points we do indeed have too much democracy, and at others too little. There is little democracy, for instance, when an individual or some forum needs to be frankly criticized. On the other hand many people can behave quite as they please, not only failing to enforce decisions, but even offering them direct opposition. And nothing happens. There is a lack of responsibility, both personal and collective.

#### We Have To Have More Public and Critical Dialogue

[Question] Do you feel that that is the central issue in the functioning of the system?

[Answer] Yes. Elected officials cannot be above criticism as is now our custom. During your period of office you can do little or nothing and not worry about it, and you can even disagree on an ideological basis, and once again there is enough laxity so that you will remain in office to the end of your term. When I say this, I am not coming out in favor of any witch-hunting campaign, but I favor opening up a public dialogue which will pinpoint rights and responsibilities for everyone. A few days ago, for instance, we listened to Comrade Dolanc on television. The burden of what he said was that we have adopted decisions on stabilization on some 20 occasions or so, and nothing has happened. What I wonder is this: How far can that go? How many more times can we adopt decisions that are not carried out? How many more times will political relations, our working class, and the working people tolerate this state of affairs?

[Question] What is the character of those decisions if they are not carried out? Perhaps those decisions are not good ones?

[Answer] I would not say so. We often adopt good decisions. For instance, we decided to set up an authentic federalism, and we did not stop with stating the principle, but we began to create even the material foundation for that kind of federalism. We initiated a process of normal institutionalization of the federal system of our government on foundations [original reads "dreams"] such as equality, and so on. Our aim is to institutionalize federalism and for self-management to be the foundation of that federalism. Matters, however, have taken a different turn. Self-management is developing a little, but government power at all levels--the *opština*, the province, and the republic--is holding on tenaciously. Only in the Federation has government power become weak.

[Question] What is the problem?

[Answer] The problem, to put it simply, is that power is not easily let go. Our aims are very good ones, and I really do not see any alternative. I think that the federal system on a self-management foundation is by far the best strategy, but instead of that we today have federal statism on the basis of republic and provincial statisms.

[Question] Let us go back to the economic difficulties. You mentioned planning priorities....

[Answer] I feel that our medium-term plans, both those in the past and this present one, are one of the principal sources of our difficulties. These plans are overambitious. The way in which we adopt plans is detached from decision-making in the economy. The government adopts them authoritously, bypassing the producers. For instance, we bid back and forth about high rates of economic growth, but we do not base them on objective material preconditions. A few days ago there was such a case, as we read in the papers, in the Assembly of Serbia. Vojvodina wanted a higher rate, the republic was proposing a lower one. I do not know what sort of arguments were presented by the two sides, or who was right, but the case itself is significant in and of itself, and I would say it is typical. That is the way it is when we draw up the federal plan. There is bargaining over the growth rate, but this is something objectively given.

#### Unrealistic Plans Should Be Amended

[Question] What causes lie behind this kind of planning? I assume that the people who propose and adopt the plans are aware of everything you are saying. Is it just a question of irresponsibility and not bearing the economic consequences?

[Answer] It is not a question of irresponsibility, though there is that, too. Not enough thought is given to personal, political and material consequences. Everything is more or less possible. But this is nevertheless a more complicated issue. First of all, we are a multinational country with regions at differing levels of development, and a greater desire on the part of the underdeveloped to move forward faster can be understood. The point is to keep this within realistic limits.

[Question] This presupposes more effective conclusion of agreements among the republics and provinces....

[Answer] Of course, but the republics and provinces must first feel themselves that this is in their interest. I think that the awareness of this is becoming stronger, and that soon there will be an end to unrealistic planning. Aside from that, there simply won't be the money. If we were to go on this way, our current production would begin to suffer still more seriously, and that is very dangerous in every respect.

Take our foreign economic relations. This is the weakest point of our present economic situation. We have been a bit slow, but still for a year or slightly more we have become aware of this, though to be sure, not all of us equally. The principal cause for this situation is our domestic economic policy, and economic relations toward the outside world are only the material expressions of what is happening in our country's economy. Our public is still not sufficiently informed about the real situation. Some people seem to think that it is more in the interest of the country if the full truth is covered up. This is an old habit, a behavioral pattern which should be overcome. But the situation is such that we are on the margin of liquidity. We must therefore support the efforts of the SFRY State Presidency and SIV to reduce foreign indebtedness.

[Question] What is the way out of this situation?

[Answer] I think that we can do this even more easily than it seems at first if without delay we undertake to modify existing planning targets and export everything that we think can be exported, be it goods or services. In this effort more responsibility should be placed on the decisions of the producers. Were we to firmly stick to the present plan, and tendencies to that effect still exist, as can be seen from the detailed report presented by Comrade Veselin Djuranovic, I think that we will not succeed in improving our economic situation, and specifically will not reduce the payments deficit and halt inflation.

[Question] To what extent does the system for disposition of foreign exchange represent an obstacle to a more up-to-date organization and to unification of forces toward larger sales on foreign markets?

[Answer] The way we now handle foreign exchange should be corrected. But at present there is a rather broad campaign to create what is referred to as a foreign exchange market. I am thinking above all that we cannot speak about any foreign exchange market so long as we have a situation of tremendous hunger for foreign exchange and the supply is too small. What kind of market can that be?

#### Against Decentralization of Foreign Exchange

In fact it is a question here of moving from the present market, which has its shortcomings, but also has its good side, and of taking away from producers their right to dispose of foreign exchange, of recentralizing foreign exchange, and then of sharing it out among the republics and provinces. I think that this is not a good strategy and that this is a very sensitive and delicate issue. We should stay clear of that. This would cause not only economic, but even political problems. Given this kind of shortage, who is the one who is going to be fair in sharing out the foreign exchange? What kind of fire will the republics and provinces be directing toward the center?

[Question] What sort of political problems are involved here?

[Answer] I think that in this matter we can even speak about a certain thrust toward self-management. And also about an infringement of federalism by insisting on that kind of so-called foreign exchange market. This is a profound question of principle: the question of self-management or that which is not self-management, the question of federalism or that which is not federalism. After all, there would definitely foreign exchange rights of the workers which the new government would in fact take away. I think that this is not the way out. It is not the solution of the foreign exchange that is our problem. But the fact that we do not have enough foreign exchange.

What concerns me is that the tendencies to displace self-management seem to be getting stronger in our community, while in certain other countries the working class is right now waging a dramatic struggle for development of self-management.

[Question] Nevertheless, many people are criticizing the existence of the system of payments-balance positions of the republics and provinces....

[Answer] At present it is true that these positions are being sharply criticized, and I would say that this criticism is justified in large part. The practice followed above all by our self-managing communities of interest for foreign economic relations, but not only by them, has displayed quite a few shortcomings. This does in fact orient and push our economy toward parcelization and exclusiveness. What do I think should be done? Subject that practice to the most severe criticism and change those parts of it which are not good. Instead of insisting on elimination of the payments-balance positions of the republics and provinces, I favor changing a practice which is clearly displaying bad results, but I do not favor the liquidation of those positions.

The Delegates in the Assembly Should Be Politicians Who Think in Terms of Yugoslavia as a Whole

[Question] To what extent is the Assembly of Yugoslavia a place for agreements and reconciliation of differing interests?

[Answer] The Federal Assembly does not have enough influence in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. I do not remember a single major piece of legislation offered by the Federal Executive Council being essentially altered or rejected. SIV proposes what has already been agreed on in what is referred to as the inter-republic coordinating committee of the executive bodies. This means that the proponents of measures are the administrative bodies and administrations, which have already obtained the support of the political bodies and leaders in their own republics. A political mechanism has not been created at the federal level nor is there the political influence and the balance of power so that people would adjust the proposals coming from the republics and provinces in the interest of the commitment to community, mindful of Yugoslavia as a whole.

[Question] What do you think is the way out of this situation?

[Answer] I think the way out is for the politically most responsible, honest and well-intentioned people in the federal government and in the Assembly to be prepared to act on behalf of self-management with deeds, to take into account the interests of the republics and provinces on an equal basis, but at the same time to be mindful of the common interest, which need not always coincide with the interests of the various republics. The person who sits in the federal government and the Assembly should be a politician who thinks in terms of Yugoslavia as a whole.

[Question] Does that collide with the delegate principle?

[Answer] No. This person should defend his position even when he goes back to the republic or province to explain it. If at that time he does not obtain political support, he should take the consequences, he should resign, and let other people take his place.



I have the feeling that we stand at an important crossroads. I think that a decisive political campaign lies ahead and that we will be confronting our own oversights and errors. We should spend more time talking about this and less about enemies, though they do exist and I do not want to underestimate them, but neither do I want to overestimate them.

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## DECLINE, PROSPECTS OF RURAL COOPERATIVES TRACED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1595, 26 Jul 81  
pp 19-20

[Article by Zaharije Trnavcevic: "Cooperatives on the Index"]

[Text] The chronology of domestic politics records that in recent years agriculture has often been a topic of discussion in top-level political and government bodies. Since we are now being pressed by high prices or occasional shortages of certain foodstuffs, the debates are becoming more frequent. The next one will be held after the vacation, in the fall, under the dome of the Federal Assembly. The delegates of the Federal Chamber will be taking up a text that at first glance does not seem so important--the proposed version of the Recommendation on Organizing the Self-Management of Private Farmers and Their Inclusion in the System of Associated Labor. The preparations of this document have taken nearly a year, the reason for this being the desire to reflect the situation in a compressed form, with few words, and to offer the delegates and the public a precise and inspiring text and the basis for the effort to form farmers' associations.

#### One Farm in Ten Belongs to an Association--A Million Farms Remain Outside the System

The reason for adopting this recommendation is that application of the Law on Associated Labor and the laws on forming farmers' associations adopted by the republics and provinces has not yielded satisfactory results to date. The recommendation, which is about to be delivered to the delegates, states that 240,000 farms now belong to associations, that 1.2 million are collaborating in various forms of socially organized production or, as it is put more frequently, are "cooperating." The figures of the last census have not been tabulated, so that we will be using the figures in the 1971 Census that Yugoslavia has 7,618,000 farms. It thus follows that today only one farm in 10 belongs to an association and that all of 3 million private farmers remain outside the system of associated labor.

The situation is bad and serious, especially if we bear in mind that in many countries of Europe the concentration and unification of small producers have proceeded considerably faster. Strong cooperative or private associations and corporations, large systems for food production, are being created. For all practical purposes in fact, no one conducts his business outside such systems.

Today we have fewer cooperatives and other organizations than a decade and a half ago. It is therefore worthwhile to ask with whom the private farmer is to enter into association and how he is to do this when the network of such organizations is so sparse. The decision was made in 1962 to abolish the Cooperative Alliance of Yugoslavia. At that time there were 2,618 cooperatives. When the alliance was abolished, the cooperatives themselves began to dissolve--many became part of agricultural combines. When the decision was made in 1972 to revive the cooperative alliance, there were then 813 cooperatives. Since that time, over the 5 years of a revival which is still going on, we have attained the figure of 1,941 cooperatives and other organizations of private farmers.

In Serbia today the average organization of this type "covers" 7.3 villages. Organizations of private farmers are more numerous in the plains, and there are hardly any in the mountains, and it takes the mountain people a day to walk from their houses to the nearest cooperative.

#### The Way in Which Cooperatives Are Established

According to a report of the Serbian Cooperative Alliance, two cooperative and 17 basic cooperative organizations have been established over the past year. If the revival continues at that pace, it will take decades to arrive at the optimum network of associated farmers. As shown by the experience of certain cooperative workers and rural activists, it seems that the first prerequisite for establishing a cooperative is that one be bold enough and willing to risk a disciplinary measure in the form of a party penalty. It seems that the cooperatives are being established more in the face of resistance of the opstina and its structure than with their support. Cooperatives established in this way wait a long time to be entered in the register of economic organizations, and various barriers are set up in their way when they apply for the initial bank loan for their business operation.

Behind these impediments there are differences in the attitude taken toward the form of association of private farmers. Usually the private farmers see the cooperative as the place for them. They feel more comfortable with its concept, they have at least some sort of experience from past years, and they still remember it as their "second home" and an institution that acted on their behalf. Reference is also made to cases of the few old cooperatives which are operating successfully and contributing to rural progress.

On the other hand, the conception held in the seat of the opstina is that of an opstina agroindustrial combine, an organization in which all the private farmers will also be included. In those conceptions the word "cooperative" seems to have been placed on the index, and it has been replaced by the conception of a basic organization of cooperators, in which the private farmers, once assembled, will have few opportunities to have an essential impact on business policy.

Thus the peasant's right to choose the form of his association, which is guaranteed by the constitution, the Law on Associated Labor and the laws on formation of farmers' associations, is being interpreted and applied in a manner which means--to put it mildly--a denial of that right!

## Formation of Associations--A Condition for Stability

The authors of the recommendation indeed took these facts as their point of departure. It states that sociopolitical communities should "use their influence to correct certain inconsistencies, whether it is a question of imposing only certain forms for the organization of private farmers ... or a question of unequal material support only to certain forms of organization, unnecessary harmful restriction of activity."

In just a few pages the text presents a sound diagnosis and recommendations as to how the effort should be carried on in future.

A few days ago we talked to Jovica Lazarevic, delegate of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Federal Chamber. He has, as he puts it, built up quite a lengthy term of service working on the problems of rural areas and cooperative affairs. He wrote the first version, and it was used as the basis for further work on that document.

"For a long time there has been talk in our community about how we have wonderful opportunities to increase food production and to resolve many present troubles. But little research was done as to why they were not being utilized. This is one of the reasons why this recommendation is being prepared. We think that aside from the inadequate investments in agriculture in recent years, another factor is poor organization, the fact that many farms have not been included in the system of associated labor. The peasant himself is not really responsible for that situation. As we see it, the root of the problem lies in the public sphere, and the recommendation attempts to say that the process of forming associations has been faltering in that area."

Milovan Zidar, an engineer and chairman of the Federal Committee for Agriculture and Forestry, who is a member of the LCY Central Committee, does not see "how we will achieve stability and preserve certain markets which were difficult to obtain if we do not organize ourselves better, if we do not create firm foundations in the form of a dense network of organizations of associated farmers linked to organizations of associated labor in the food manufacturing and the distribution sector."

"To achieve this," Zidar says, "we need to come forth with a 'package' of those things which are necessary to large-scale formation of peasants' associations. I am thinking of there being a store in the village easy for the peasant to reach, and a savings bank, and an extension service. We have to develop democratic life in rural areas and make it possible for the private farmer to have an influence over the division of income, including that portion which is used for development of the village itself and the rural environment. If those preconditions are not met, there will be no changes or progress."

Engineer Zidar also raised an important question in our conversation:

"I don't give excessive importance to the expression 'cooperative' and do not give it preference as the only and exclusive form of association. It is not the name that is the essential thing to success in this endeavor. Both the cooperative and the basic organization of cooperatives can serve as a good solution.



Much more important is the question of whether the peasant will make decisions on the realization and distribution of income or will become an implement of use and benefit to the staff of the cooperative or similar organization. If on the other hand the peasants want to have a cooperative, I don't see why we should stand in their way. However, I say once again that one must be cautious, since the people on the staff of the cooperative can also evade the oversight of the members of the cooperative and jeopardize not only their individual interests, but even the survival of the cooperative."

#### What Is Needed?

Legislators are well aware of the difference in weight between a law and a recommendation, that is, the difference in the strength they wield. Nevertheless, there are realistic assessments that the recommendation we have mentioned here could encounter a good response and bring about changes, though there are grounds for the suspicion that the recommendation may show more strength than the Law on Associated Labor or the laws on formation of farmers' associations.

It is sufficient for success in this case to respect the legal right of the citizen, in this case the private farmer, to form the organization that best suits him. To create various other associations as well, and not only cooperatives or organizations of cooperators. This is indeed fair, since the economic consequences of a bad choice certainly will be borne by them. In the past it is they who have had to pay the price for various misbegotten mergers, the closing down of cooperatives, the moving of various institutions from the village to the seat of the opstina, and it is they who suffered because the cooperative headquarters were taken away.

Opstina sociopolitical organizations have up to now rarely tried to pull or investigate the feelings of the peasants. Perhaps because of the mistaken idea that modern procedures like these are suitable only for organizations in large cities which have their own "Gallups," but perhaps also because they underestimate rural respondents. Rural public opinion ought to be surveyed before the recommendation takes effect in order to discover the true disposition of the peasants and the way they look upon its enforcement and the formation of associations.

In any case, the approach taken up to now has not yielded much. The foreign exchange balance of agriculture, instead of showing a sizable surplus, ended up at exactly zero last year, and this year will be appreciably upset because of the wheat which is to be imported and the reduced exports of meat. Instead of the expected 4-percent growth rate of output in agriculture, our progress in recent years has been 1.6 percent.

Consequently, we do not have much choice: In the years to come we must conduct our effort in a new way, with more political consistency and more respect so that what has been agreed on in the form of laws, accords and similar promulgated enactments--is adhered to.

Without that kind of consistency, neither this trouble, nor other trouble, can be corrected.

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